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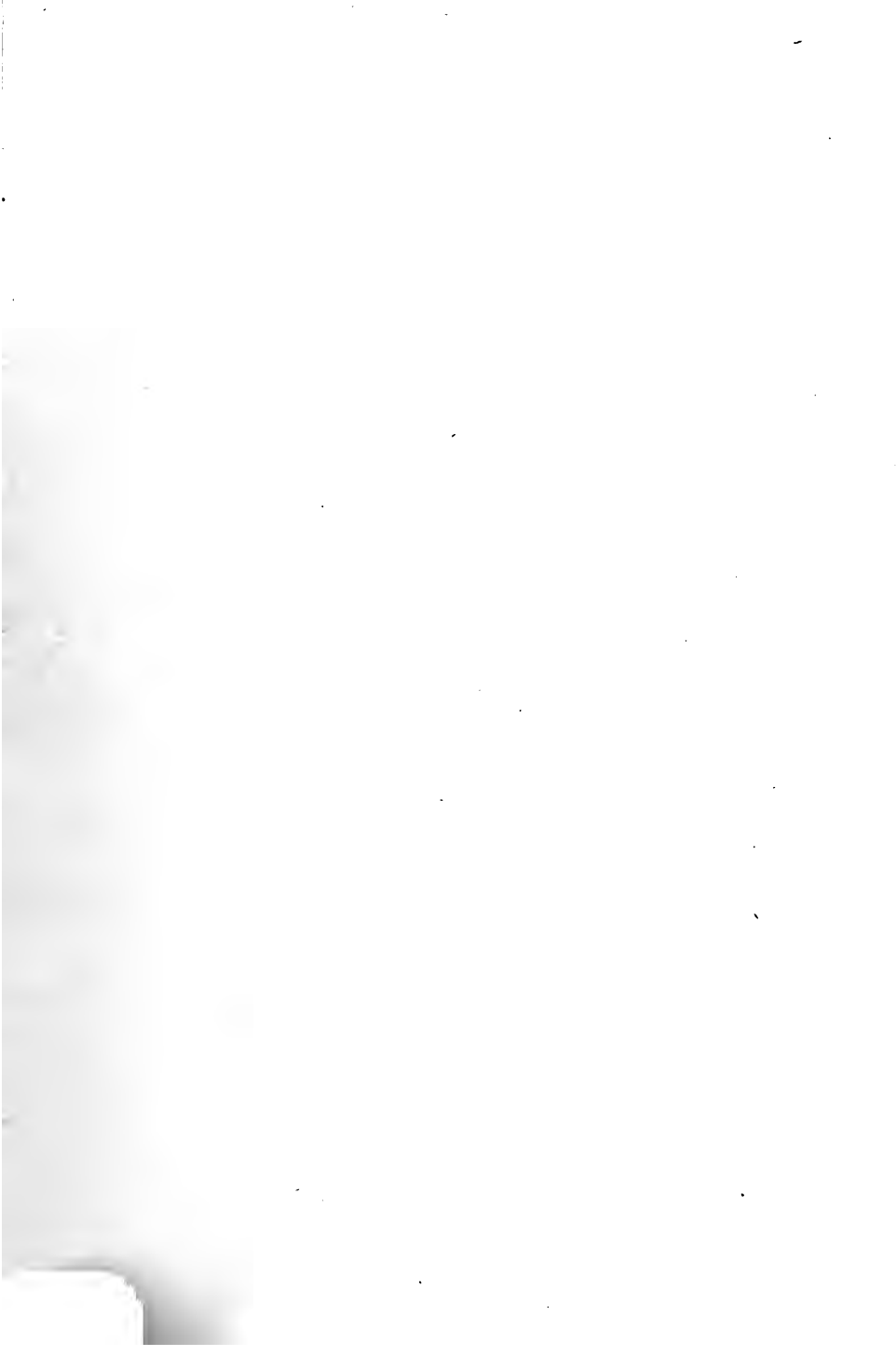
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**CURRENT DISCUSSIONS
IN THEOLOGY.**

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

—BY THE—

PROFESSORS OF THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

There is nothing in our language of this kind. The American student has had to choose between the exhaustive and unremitting labors which are the price of first-hand knowledge, and reviews which rarely fail of being colored with partiality or prejudice. The volume before us is a helpful, fair and trustworthy statement of the present position and recent movements of theology.—*The Independent*.

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CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

—BY—

THE PROFESSORS

—OF—

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

VOL. IV.

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PREFACE.

The aim of these *Discussions*, as already stated in an earlier volume, is "to answer the question which every earnest student of theology and ecclesiastical subjects may well be supposed to ask at the close of each year, viz.: What has been done in the different fields of sacred learning during the past twelve months, and what are the latest results of such studies?

"In preparing this Report of Progress, critical reference has been made to the most recent literature, as a help to those who wish to prosecute their studies further along the lines indicated, while enough of the fruits of the latest investigation is given to make the work immediately profitable to the student."

In summing up the labors of theologians and critics the natural drift of the literature leads the reviewer, in most departments, to dwell upon works that deviate somewhat from the beaten path, and in such writings to notice principally what is new and claims to be better than what we already know; for any adequate account of generally accepted views is precluded by the limits of the work and by the supposition that they are already familiar to our readers. Such considerations, and not any particular sympathy with theological novelties, explain the com-

plexion of these *Discussions*, which may appear to some as giving undue prominence to radical teachings and criticisms.

The sudden and unexpected death of our valued colleague, Professor Hyde, left the New Testament Department without an official representative. That part of these *Discussions* has been undertaken this year by Professor Scott, who by previous special study in this field of research was enabled to fill temporarily the sad break in the number of workers.

It should be noticed that the publication in October makes the literary year under review extend from about June to June, so that the present volume follows investigation to the midsummer of 1886.

THE FACULTY.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

CHICAGO, OCTOBER 30, 1886.

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EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

OLD TESTAMENT.

**PRESENT STATE
OF
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.**

**BY
REV. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS,
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS, IN CHICAGO
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.**

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

OLD TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The studies centering in the Bible grow in interest each year. After a sleep of about three and a half milleniums the body of Ramses II. has been removed from the sarcophagus, where it had reposed, and the features of the proud, hard Pharaoh of the oppression have been exposed to the gaze of the curious in some of our public prints.

The ancient treasure city of Pithom,¹ as many believe, which was built by the blood and sweat of toiling Israelites, has been disclosed, and the Egypt Exploration Fund is making other important discoveries.

The study of Assyrian, a Semitic language nearly related to the Hebrew, is steadily progressing in spite of those who depreciate it. An extensive literature has already been exhumed, and many thousand clay tablets are still to see the light on which may be found the earliest traditions of the race, the history and literature of ancient Babylonia and Assyria. We may well hope that Dr. Ward's explorations in Babylonia may prepare the way for important discoveries. Whatever mistakes may be made in the

¹Navigate, *The Store-City of Pithom and The Route of The Exodus*, London, 1885.

enthusiasm of new researches, there can be little doubt that Assyriology is to play a leading part in the better understanding of Hebrew, and perhaps of Israel's history. Who knows what secrets still lie buried in the tombs of Egypt, in the plains of Babylonia, and in the ancient monasteries of the East? Enough, surely, to quicken the flagging interest of biblical students. Not enough to satisfy vain curiosity, but sufficient to shed much light on the Sacred Scriptures, which were never more needed than now, not as furnishing a field for speculation, but as containing the one message which the world sorely needs.

And yet the attacks on the Old Testament seem to be very severe especially on those views regarding composition and authorship which were commonly received until about one hundred years ago. Among certain scholars these modern critical views regarding the origin of the Pentateuch, are receiving a general acceptance in Germany; and in England and America they are widely known through the medium of translations.

CHAPTER I.

SEMITIC STUDIES.

THESE are constantly advancing in America. Already there is provision for thorough instruction in the Semitic languages in two of the oldest universities in the country — not to speak of one of the youngest, Johns Hopkins, where Prof. Haupt teaches Semitic philology — namely, at Harvard, where Prof. C. H. Toy has the chair in Hebrew, and Prof. D. H. Lyon devotes especial attention to Assyriology, and at Yale.

Recently Yale University has added Prof. W. R. Harper, called of God to be an apostle of Semitic studies, late of Chicago Baptist Union Theological Seminary, to its faculty. It is expected that he will accomplish for the Semitic languages a work similar to that which Prof. Whitney has done in Sanscrit. It is hoped that he will invite the attention of many not only to them, but also that he may be successful in inaugurating a movement whereby the preparatory work in Hebrew shall be done before the admission of students to the theological seminaries.

Five Hebrew schools of the Institute of Hebrew have been held this summer in various parts of our country for a month in each place. These schools tend to establish an *esprit de corps* among the Hebrew professors who participate in them and afford a valuable opportunity for ministers to review their studies or even to lay a foundation where they have not studied Hebrew before. At the

same time they do something toward the preparation of young men to enter the seminaries with some knowledge of Hebrew, although they do not carry beginners far enough in the elements. The writer has not yet heard of any method more successful than that employed in Chicago Theological Seminary, by which, through correspondence, students are well prepared to enter an advanced division.¹

The Institute of Hebrew, under whose auspices these schools have been established, has made an arrangement for electing as Fellows of the Institute those who shall successfully pass examinations in one-half each of the three grand divisions of the Hebrew Bible (history, prophecy, poetry), including a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew Grammar, and two cognate languages, *e. g.*, Aramaic and Arabic, or Assyrian and Arabic, and who shall prepare an original thesis on some subject connected with Old Testament study.

I. LEXICOGRAPHY.²—Assyriology, as we have seen, is demonstrating its right to be considered an important factor in the study of Hebrew. It is natural that those who have been taught to regard Arabic of prime importance in the study of Hebrew should try to frown down this new rival. The Assyrian is interesting, not merely on account of its abundant literature³ and the evidence that it gives that the art of reading and writing was a comparatively common accomplishment among a Semitic people in the clay tablets, which were used for contracts, deeds of sale, etc., but also in its close relation to the Hebrew.

¹The above paragraphs are taken from the writer's sketch of "American Literature," in *The Expositor*, London, 1886, p. 392.

²See *Current Discussions*, vol. iii, p. 28ff., Chicago, 1885.

³Sayce *Babylonian Literature*, London, p. 70.

This has been admirably shown by Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch in his *Prolegomena to a New Hebrew-Aramaic Lexicon to the Old Testament*.¹ The time may not be ripe for such an undertaking, but it is sure to come, and it will certainly shed much light on our knowledge of Hebrew. He proposes, in general, to prepare a much briefer lexicon than the works of Gesenius and Fürst by excluding all extraneous matter, such as all merely speculative discussions about monosyllabic roots, which abound in the last two editions of Gesenius; to give a separate treatment of Aramaic and proper names; and to arrange the words, as in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, by roots. These, however, as he says, are merely externals. He claims that Assyrian is of great importance in determining the true meaning of certain rare Hebrew words, known as *hapax legomena*. He really sustains the reading of the Revised Version in Ps. xxii, 21, through the Assyrian *rêmu*, "wild oxen," "yea from the horns of the wild oxen thou hast answered me." Doubtless some of the meanings suggested as the primary signification of the Hebrew words cannot stand, but the work that Dr. Delitzsch is proposing to do is worthy of all recognition.

English readers may have some conception of the value of Assyrian for purposes of comparison with Hebrew roots by reading an article by Dr. Haupt, on *Assyrian Phonology, with Special Reference to Hebrew*.²

II. HEBREW GRAMMAR.—Two interesting articles on the study of the Hebrew language among Jews and Christians³ have recently appeared from the prolific pen of Dr.

¹*Prolegomena eines neuen Hebräisch-Aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. x—218, with an index of Hebrew words, etc.

²See *Hebraica*, Chicago, January, 1885, pp. 175–181.

³*Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1884, pp. 477ff., and for July, 1885, pp. 470ff.

B. Pick, a Jewish Christian. Our periodical literature has furnished other contributions of more or less merit. Prof. Toy has an article on the Massoretic vowel system in *Hebraica* for January, 1885. He thinks that Sh^ewa was a real vowel sound and that the language treated it as forming an independent syllable. In the same article he argues against half-open syllables.

CHAPTER II.

OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

Recent works on Old Testament Introduction have been prepared exclusively by members of the modern critical school. Some articles in the reviews, however, have appeared from men of conservative spirit.

Prof. Bissell, of Hartford Theological Seminary, has two articles on the Old Testament Canon in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.¹ He maintains that long before the time of Christ there was a fixed canon of Old Testament books co-extensive with our own, and argues strongly against Kuenen that the Great Synagogue mentioned in the Talmudical writings existed for a long period, and that they were guardians of the Sacred Scriptures.

Dr. Pick also furnishes an interesting article on *The Old Testament in the Time of the Talmud*,² which contains much valuable information on the canon, the order and number of the books, various readings, etc.

The fifth edition of Bleek's Introduction to the Old Testament has just appeared.³ This well-known book has had a singular history. It was first published after the author's death, who had read it in the form of lectures twenty-three times, by his son and Prof. Kamphausen of Bonn University. The second edition, in which few changes were made, came from the hand of the latter, as well as the

¹ Oberlin, 1886, pp. 71-99; 264-286.

² *Hebraica*, Chicago, 1885, pp. 153-174.

³ *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1886.

third, in which there were greater alterations. The fourth and fifth editions have been cared for by Prof. Wellhausen. But the last edition, according to the editor, has received very few changes, except the restoration of Bleek's paragraphs regarding the historical books in place of Wellhausen's investigations, which appeared in the fourth edition.

Prof. Kuenen of Leiden is issuing a second edition of his Introduction after twenty years. The first part, which covers the Hexateuch, has not only been published in the original language, Dutch, but also in English¹ and German. While conservative critics must differ from Kuenen, they cannot help according him all praise for the scientific manner in which he has produced this work. During the past twenty years he has followed every detail of Pentateuch criticism with the utmost interest, concerning which he might well say with reference to the most advanced school: "*Magna pars fui.*" Through the medium of one of the Reviews,² of which he is an editor, he has discussed the various phases of the question with great thoroughness. These have enabled him to present a very valuable discussion from his standpoint.

In his outline of the History of the Criticism of the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, during the last quarter of a century, he affirms that "five and twenty years ago the defenders of the 'authenticity' of the Pentateuch were never weary of insisting on the mutual disagreement of its assailants." While he admits that "the charge was not altogether baseless," he maintains that "a *dominant theory*

¹ *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Book of Joshua)*, London, 1886.

² *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Amsterdam and Leiden, 1867 to the present time.

as to the origin of the Mosaic writings was certainly established amongst the representatives of the critical school." He says: "The main points upon which unanimity seemed gradually to have been reached were the following: The Deuteronomist, a contemporary of Manasseh, or Josiah, was the redactor of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and it was he who brought them into the form in which they now lie before us. He interwove or inserted his own laws and narratives into the work of the Yahvist (Jehovist) that dated from the eighth century B. C., and was therefore almost a hundred years old in his time. To this Yahvist we owe the first four books of the Pentateuch and the earlier (*præ deuteronomic*) recension of Joshua, His work was, in its turn, based upon a still earlier composition—the 'Grundschrift' or 'Book of Origins'—which came from the pen of a priest or Levite, and might be referred to the century of Solomon. Embedded in this 'Grundschrift' were still more ancient fragments, some of them Mosaic. The Yahvist expanded and supplemented the *Grundschrift* with materials drawn in part from tradition and in part from written sources."

After giving a sketch of the course of Pentateuch criticism, he proceeds as follows with reference to Wellhausen's first volume of the history of Israel, which is now in the hands of English readers in translation:¹ "I can hardly describe the delight with which I first read it—a delight such as seldom meets one on the path of learning. At one with the writer *a priori*, not only in principles but in general results, I was able to follow him from beginning to end with almost unbroken assent, and at the

¹*Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1885.

same time to learn more than I can say from every part of his work."

He continues: "Wellhausen's treatment of our theme, for which I must refer to his book itself, was so cogent, so original, and so brilliant, that its publication may be regarded as the 'crowning fight' in the long campaign. Since 1878 the question has been more and more seriously considered in Germany — and in most cases to consider it has meant to decide it in our sense. Some eminent scholars still hold out against the 'Grafian hypothesis,' but it is no longer possible to count its supporters or to enumerate *seriatim* the works written in its defense or built upon its assumptions. In setting forth, in this treatise, for the first time, its complete and systematic, critical justification, I am no longer advocating a heresy, but am expounding the received view of European critical scholarship. Those who dissent from it may still appeal to names which command universal respect, but they can no longer stake their case on the '*consensus criticorum*,' which has at last declared itself against them."

This is no empty boast. It is substantially true. Nothing is to be gained for the cause of truth by denying it. But, granting that it is a correct representation, it is to be remembered that this is not a question to be settled by votes.

1. The supporters of the post-exilic codification of the Priests' Code, which Kuenen calls the Grafian hypothesis, are: Budde, of Bonn; Stade, of Giessen; Duhm and H. Schultz, of Göttingen; Giesbrecht, of Greifswald; Kneucker, of Heidelberg; Siegfried, of Jena; Delitzsch,¹

¹ On the 18th of last February, Prof. Delitzsch, in an address held before Albert, King of Saxony, acknowledged himself a supporter of the Grafian

Guthe and König, of Leipzig; Cornill, of Marburg; Kayser [d 1885], Nowack and Reuss, of Strassburg; Kautzsch, of Tübingen; Smend, of Basel; Vuilleumier, of Lausanne; Steiner, of Zürich.

2. The supporters of the Priests' Code as an older document are: Dillmann and Strack, of Berlin; Köhler, of Erlangen; Bredenkamp, of Griefswald; Klostermann (?) of Kiel; Mühlau and Volck, of Dorpat.

3. The critics who mediate between the two schools are: Kamphausen, of Bonn; Ryssel (?) of Leipzig; Baudissin, of Marburg.

Bachmann, so far as we know, is the only Old Testament professor in a German university who still defends the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

Notwithstanding this classification, it must be understood that there are many differences between those who support the post-exilic origin of the Priests' Code, from Delitzsch and König, of Leipzig, who are zealous defenders of the orthodox doctrines of the Lutheran church, to Stade and Siegfried, who are more closely allied to a liberalism not unlike the Unitarianism of New England.

Since the question of Pentateuch criticism occupies such an important place in Old Testament Introduction, and Kuenen expresses himself so cordially at one with Wellhausen, we shall present the theory of the latter with regard to the Pentateuch.

hypothesis, although not as sharing in many of the consequences drawn from it, in the following words: "Wir erkennen das gute Recht der Zerlegung des Pentateuchs in die Quellenexcerpte, aus denen er zusammengesetzt ist; wir anerkennen auch die zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge der Quellenschichten, wie sie durch dem im J. 1874, als Professor zu St. Afra verstorbenen Carl Heinrich Graf in epochender Weise rectificiert worden ist, indem er der Erkenntnis, dass die Grundschrift, welche unter den Quellen des Pentateuchs bisher für die älteste gehalten wurde, die jüngste sei, zum Durchbruch verholfen hat — aber in den Konsequenzen, die man daraus zieht, erscheint uns manches als hinwegzuputzende Schnuppe oder über das Mass hinauschiessende Flamme."

WELLHAUSEN'S THEORY OF THE PENTATEUCH.¹

Perhaps we should form a clearer conception of the critical method in the analysis of the Pentateuch if we were to suppose that our four gospels existed only in the form of a harmony, as one continuous life of Christ, and that in such a harmony the synoptists had been united as much as possible by cutting out passages from one gospel that were found in another, by allowing some parallel passages to stand, and by fitting in passages from John in their proper places. If we now had only Tatian's Diatessaron of the Gospels, which began with John i. 1, a similar problem would be presented to students of New Testament Criticism, as to those of the Old, for Wellhausen claims that we may trace four main documents in the composition of the Pentateuch.

Tatian's Diatessaron, therefore, as far as we know about it, may serve to illustrate the process by which the critics claim that the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch, came into existence. Some time during the years 850-770 B. C., or perhaps even later, two narratives of Israel from the creation of the world to the conquest and settlement in Canaan were written. Which is the older of the two we cannot tell. The last part of one of these, whose author is called the Yahvist, from the name of God which he predominantly uses, breaks off with the blessing of Balaam. In his narrative he combined the myths, the legends, and the traditional histories then existing. After he had committed his work to writing the legends were still growing beside it, and from time to time were incorporated into it, so that the Yahvistic work may be con-

¹Taken from the writer's article in the *Expositor*, London, 1886, pp. 85-90.

sidered as having passed through at least three editions before it was united with the following book.

The second narrative, which is not necessarily second in the order of time, is called the Elohist from Elohim, the name of God, which is characteristic of it. We must not confound its author with the Elohist writer in Ewald's Book of Origins, whose work appears at the very beginning of Genesis (i. 1-ii. 4), and who is called by a misnomer the older Elohist, while the one of whom we are now speaking is called the younger Elohist, thus prejudging the whole question of the relative age of the documents. The history of the Elohist which Wellhausen has in view is unlike that of the Yahvist in extent, since while it first begins with the patriarchs, it extends throughout the Book of Joshua. It resembles the other, however, in having passed through three editions.

Still later a writer, whom Wellhausen calls the Jehovist, wished to prepare a new history of Israel from the creation of the world until the settlement of Israel in Canaan under Joshua. The two works named were his chief although not his only sources of information. Instead of digesting them, as a modern author would do, and writing an entirely new history he took the existing materials much as a New Testament harmonist would in preparing a life of Christ in the words of Scripture. He made the Yahvistic work the basis of his narrative, and interwove with it passages of the parallel Elohist book. In some cases he has sacrificed one writer at the expense of another, in others he has allowed two accounts to stand side by side. There are, too, certain parts where he has made a much freer use of his materials, and where he has engaged in independent authorship. This work was mostly narrative,

yet it contained a brief legal code, the so-called book of the Covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), and Ex. xxxiv., the former of which at least was taken from the Yahvist.

The third contribution to the constituent elements of the Pentateuch was mainly legal. Doubtless, during the reign of the wicked king Manasseh, the prophets and priests had become convinced that something must be done to check the growing idolatry of the people, and it is not unlikely that the Decalogue dates from this period. It seemed to them that a stop must be put to the practice of the Judæans in worshipping on the high places (*bamoth*). This could be accomplished only by limiting the worship of Jehovah to Jerusalem. They therefore prepare a new book a *deuteros nomos* (Deuteronomy) based on the Book of the Covenant, and yet differing from it in its reiterated command that God should be worshiped in one place, and in the position which it assigned to the Levites as the only legitimate priests. This book was at first purely legal and embraced only Deut. xii.-xxvi. Afterwards there were two recensions of it, one consisting of chapters i.-iv.; xii.-xxvii., and the other of v.-xi.; xii.-xxvi., xxviii. These two were subsequently united and inserted in the legal code of the Hexateuch, when chapter xxxi. was added. This Book of Deuteronomy is the law book which was discovered under King Josiah in the year 621 B. C.

This narrative, which comprised only a fraction of the present Hexateuch, was lacking in the most striking elements now found in the Pentateuch. There was nothing in it about the tabernacle or the central sanctuary around which the twelve tribes were encamped, nothing about an elaborate system of sacrifices, nothing about an Aaronic priesthood. While the priests may well have had a tra-

ditional code, it was still unwritten, and was yet destined to great modifications. The Deuteronomic code was not without effect. Its chief polemic brought the worship of the high places into disfavor, and the Levitical priests who had served the people there were degraded from their office, as we learn from Ezekiel, and became servants of their more fortunate brethren, the sons of Zadok, at Jerusalem. This centralization of worship and degradation of the Levites could not but affect the traditional priestly code, but the most important factor was the Babylonian exile, which suddenly cut off the political and religious life of the nation for more than two generations. The ritual ceased to be practiced, it now became the object of study and reflection. The priests of necessity became scribes. How much their ideals differed from the law already found in the Book of the Covenant and in Deuteronomy appears from the sketch presented in the last nine chapters of the book of the priestly prophet Ezekiel. A further stage is indicated in the small Code, Lev. xvii-xxvi., which was subsequently written in the spirit of Ezekiel's code, although not by Ezekiel himself. Meanwhile a new account of Israel's history from the creation to the settlement in Canaan under Joshua was written from the standpoint of these new priestly enactments. How long the new work was finished after the exile is not indicated. Wellhausen calls it the Book of the Four Covenants. This book was made the basis of what he calls the Priest's Code, a work whose materials may have extended far back, and which grew up among the priests as the Mishna at a later period among the scribes. There were, then, two historico-legal works in existence, both running parallel from the creation of the world to the settlement of Israel

in Canaan. At last, part of the Jews were restored to their own land. In the year 458 B. C., the scribe Ezra came to Jerusalem, and cast in his lot with his Judæan brethren. While he was not the author of the Priest's Code, which had gradually grown up with the Book of the Four Covenants, on which it was based, among the priestly scribes at Babylon, yet he is supposed to be the one who united it with the Jehovistic edition of the Hexateuch which included the Book of Deuteronomy. For fourteen years Ezra did not introduce the new law book, but conducted the congregation according to the Deuteronomic code. What was the reason of this delay in its introduction does not appear. It is not unlikely that he was adapting this product of Babylonian wisdom to the practical needs of the congregation, and was perhaps training helpers to assist him in carrying out the provisions of the new code. The book which Ezra introduced in the year 444 B. C. was essentially our present Pentateuch, although various novels and interpolations crept in until the year 300 B. C.

Such is, in general, Wellhausen's theory of the origin of the Hexateuch as nearly as it can be gathered from his various writings, although he nowhere attempts the hazardous experiment of presenting a connected picture of the origin of the different parts, but evidently leaves each student of his writings to paint one for himself.

Wellhausen's argument in favor of the post-exilic origin of the middle books of the Pentateuch, for a more complete statement of which we must refer to the *Expositor*,¹ is indeed a masterpiece of logic and critical investigation. But it has dealt with the Pentateuch about as the new

¹London, 1885, pp. 81-98.

French Empire did with the crooked, narrow streets of Paris. His avenues are broad and direct, but it is very questionable whether they represent the ancient topography.

If the hypothesis which we have sketched were established, we might as well resign the view which is still held by the great mass of evangelical Christians as to the authorship of the Pentateuch by Moses, and we could not then do better than to adopt the views set forth by König, in his *Religious History of Israel*;¹ but American and English theologians should not be swept off their feet by the number or standing of the scholars who accept it on the Continent.

America has made an honorable beginning in works of a conservative character on Pentateuch criticism. There are three writers who are deserving of recognition for their defense of the Mosaic authorship. They are inclined to lay altogether too much stress on the disagreement among critics, which, as Kuenen remarks, was the favorite mode of argumentation twenty-five years ago. But their writings contain some strong positions in defense of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

WORKS IN SUPPORT OF THE MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP.

Prof. W. H. Green, of Princeton, has produced two well-known books,² which exhibit a good understanding of the subject, and are worthy of great praise. He shows that if we regard Moses as a historical personage, and the ten commandments as emanating from him substantially in their present form, that the critical hypothesis loses a

¹Edinburgh, 1885.

²*Moses and The Prophets*, New York, 1883; *The Hebrew Feasts*, New York, 1885.

most important support, and that we can hold beyond all peradventure that law preceded prophecy.¹ His arguments in favor of unity of worship, in the earliest documents, seem especially worthy of consideration. They may be stated as follows:

1. The Book of the Covenant indicates unity of worship instead of various synchronous altars, for it is implied in Ex. xx. 21, that an altar is to be built in every place where God records His name. This statute was especially adapted to Israel's wandering life in the wilderness, but we may not infer that God sanctioned several altars at once. Moreover the feasts which were to be observed three times in the year (Ex. xxiii. 17), when all the males were to appear before God, imply that they were to meet in one place, and not at different altars.

2. The historical books until the capture of the ark of the covenant indicate one sanctuary at Shiloh. The Levite in Judg. xix, 18, speaks of going to the house of the Lord as he if knew of but one. A feast of the Lord was observed annually at Shiloh (Judg. xxi. 19). It was visited by all Israel (1 Sam. ii. 14, 22, 29).

3. In all the Psalms of the first (or oldest) book, Zion is God's earthly dwelling place; no other is alluded to, and Prof. Green adds that the prophet Jeremiah and the Psalmist knew of but two sanctuaries in Israel—Shiloh and Zion.

4. The prophets recognize only one legitimate sanctuary, and that is in Zion. Amos, though delivering his message in Bethel, knows but one sanctuary, (i. 2), which he affirms is Jehovah's seat. Hosea presupposes the law of the unity of the sanctuary when he charges the people with sin for multiplying altars.

¹Cf. Gardiner, *The Old and New Testaments in their Mutual Relations*, New York, 1885, p. 40.

He admits that from the abandonment of Shiloh to the erection of the Temple of Solomon the worship on high places was allowable as never before, but for this there was a good reason. He also argues strongly for the existence of a written law in the time of the prophets.

Prof. Bissell's book¹ exhibits great industry, and is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. He is perhaps too dogmatic, and does not give a fair impression as to the real strength of the new critical school in Germany. But the book is a useful and earnest endeavor to present arguments in favor of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Like Prof. Green, he shows how incredible it is that a man writing in the time of Josiah should embody such commands and statements as the author of Deuteronomy has done. Indeed, these arguments against a late authorship seem far more powerful than those which the critics urge in favor of it. Or was the author of Deuteronomy such an antiquarian that he could simulate all these marks of an earlier age? We know of no parallel example in Old Testament literature. Prof. Bissell, after an introductory chapter, gives a historical sketch of the criticism, puts the proposed analysis of the law to the test, considers laws peculiar to Deuteronomy, repeated and modified in it, laws peculiar to the Priests' Code, and the genuineness of Deuteronomy. He then discusses the law in relation to the prophets, the historical books, and the psalms, and appends a very complete table to the literature of the Pentateuch and the related criticism of the Old Testament, besides full indexes.

The latest work on Pentateuch criticism² is by a Fellow

¹ *The Pentateuch, its Origin and Structure. An Examination of Recent Theories*, New York, 1885.

² *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes*, New York, 1886.

of Princeton Seminary, Geerhardus Vos, of Huguenot descent, although born in Holland. It bears the marks of Dutch thoroughness as well as of our American tendency to undertake many things. No student occupying a similar position in Germany would attempt to write anything more than a monograph, but here is a work on the Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes in twenty-one chapters, which discusses almost every phase of the subject with admirable terseness and clearness. It must be admitted, however, that some of the subjects are necessarily treated in an incomplete and superficial way. The most serious criticism which can be made on the book is its lack of footnotes and indexes. It is unfair to the critic who conscientiously desires to verify the accuracy of the statements, as well as to the students, who should have access to the authorities used by the author. In the criticism there is sometimes an imputation of motives which should be forever banished from such works. The second chapter, on the history of the linguistic argument of the critics, which is based on a dissertation by König,¹ not only gives two dates that are wrong by a year, in one of which he follows his authority, but he conveys an erroneous impression as to the position of Ewald with reference to this argument. He does not seem to know that Ewald withdrew this view in the *Studien und Kritiken*, and that he speaks deprecatingly of the book in which it is found as the work of one only nineteen years of age.

He is the only one of these critics who examines the linguistic argument. He fails to show satisfactorily, however, how certain expressions are characteristic of Elohim passages, while synonymous expressions are constantly

¹*De Criticæ Sacræ Argumento E Linguae Legibus Repetito*, Lipsiæ, 1879.

found in the Jehovah passages. But aside from these strictures the book is to be commended as a valuable compendium of arguments from a conservative standpoint for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.¹

WORKS OF THE CONSERVATIVE GERMAN SCHOOL.

A very interesting address by Count Baudissin, professor at Marburg, Germany, is entitled: *Der heutige Stand der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1885. In this he simply holds the ordinary modern critical view as to the age of the Jehovistic document and of Deuteronomy, but maintains that the Priest's Code was, at least in its beginnings, not post-exilic. Such a position is not particularly helpful where it is a question of only one hundred and fifty or two hundred years in dating the code.

Naumann, a pastor, has written on *Wellhausen's Methode kritisch beleuchtet*, Leipzig, 1886. "In this treatise," to quote the words of the announcement, "the author seeks to understand the entire religious development of Israel internally from its monotheism, and the latter externally, from the connection in which the people of the divine election stood with the heathen peoples related by race, especially with the Egyptians, among whom Israel grew up until it became a nation, in order that in this way a sure position may be secured against Wellhausen's Mosaic primitive history."

Dr. Edward König, of the University of Leipzig, although he accepts the post-exilic origin of the Priests' Code, has prepared an interesting and important treatise

¹ Edersheim in his *Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah*, London, 1885, devotes two chapters and an appendix to the discussion of the theories of the critics, in which he takes a conservative position. See pp. 191-288, 371-391.

which is accessible to English readers.¹ It shows how much that is positive may be held, even when the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is surrendered. The discussion, as the title indicates, is directed against the development theorists, such as Kuenen.

He raises the question whether the religion of Moses was that of the majority of the people. He maintains, in accordance with the representation of the Scriptures, that Israel at one time reached a religious level which it afterward departed from, and he finds that the tradition of the Old Testament brings out the fact that the contemporaries of Moses as a whole acknowledge one God.

His second question is: "What was the legally appointed religion of Israel in pre-prophetic times?" He replies: "We must place the consciousness of God at the very beginning of Israel's history, from which the entire Old Testament has derived its deep signification." He says: "It is a matter beyond controversy that a consciousness of God had existed among the earliest Israelites. * * * God was to Israel all in all — as the soul which regulates the pulsations of moral and religious life." And he brings out the important thought that "all the great master-spirits of Israel regarded themselves, not as beginners, but as restorers of a condition of life seen in its most perfect form at the commencement of the national existence."

He adds: "This lawful religion of pre-prophetic Israel, furthermore, from a formal point of view represented the ideas of God possessed by Moses, the pious of Israel, and

¹The German title of the book is *Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte gegenüber den Entwicklungs-theoretikern*, Leipzig, 1884. The translation is entitled: *The Religious History of Israel. A Discussion of the Chief Problems in Old Testament History, as Opposed to the Development Theorists*, Edinburgh, 1885.

at the same time the working and writing prophets. * * * It is positively proved that these writing prophets unite with the old religious heroes of the nation, and together they seek to revive a relative development of religious progress among the people;" and he brings out this very important point: "The oldest prophets regard themselves as the general possessors of a law by which the ethical and religious movements of Israel were to be regulated. This is beyond question, even without maintaining the old representation that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. For the prophets knew of a Torah, which formed the standard code of duty in the minds of the Israelites, peculiar in itself, and different from the individual commands of Jehovah sent forth from time to time as the vicissitudes of Israel require."

He says further: "With the person of Moses there was always associated the knowledge of a new divine name, and at the same time the idea of a new law with its religious and ethical claims. And no one, indeed, can gainsay the fact that Israel generally looked upon Moses as the founder of all religious customs."

"The whole history after Moses' time is one of continual backslidings. Israel has thus a knowledge of its true history, and, moreover, it has been careful faithfully to preserve that knowledge. * * * Thus we find that it was between Abraham and Moses that the high standpoint was reached in the views possessed of God. These more fully revealed by Moses were faithfully adhered to in the conceptions of generations and finally expressed in writing."

He affirms in strong terms "that the Old Testament traditions in their various characteristics, and in those parts affecting the nation, must be considered as resting on

satisfactory bases; (a) we find in Israel manifold traces, showing us that oral tradition from generation to generation was in great force; (b) Israel possessed at a comparatively early period its past history recorded in writing, *e. g.*, the Ten Words, the Book of the Covenant; (c) no principle or starting-point in history, can be discovered by which, or when, Israel could have invented the essential features of the national tradition, *e. g.*, the calamitous but victorious march out of Egypt."

His discussion in regard to the doctrine concerning Jehovah controverts the views held by the development theorists. They maintain that Jehovah was simply a national god, like Chemosh among the Moabites, who was worshiped under the form of a steer, and that monotheism was simply the result of prophetic teaching.

He holds that since Moses' time God was known to Israel as Jahveh. He concedes to the critics, however, that he was spoken of as Baal. He sees the evidence of this in the frequency with which this name occurs in Hebrew, and in proper names, as well in the passage in Hos. ii. 16 f.

He says plainly that "the so-called ethical monotheism of the prophets is a vain invention of the development theorists," for "the pre-prophetical religion of Israel contained the basis of true monotheism, which testified to the incomparable glory and most sublime power of the God of revelation."

With regard to the worship of Jehovah under the form of a steer, he calls attention to the fact that, according to a well-attested tradition, Israel, when in Egypt, had polluted themselves with Egyptian idols (Ezek. xx. 7, 8; Josh. xxiv. 14), and had brought with them from Egypt their idolatry (Ezek. xxiii. 3, 8, 19, 21). He alludes to

the fact that, in Goshen, or its boundaries, was situated the town of On, in which the bull Mnevis was worshipped. So far, then, as Jehovah was adored under the form of a bull, he maintains that this worship was of Egyptian origin, and is not to be traced to an Israelitish source. He lays special stress on the fact that the prophets, who must ever be regarded as the best representatives of Jewish tradition, have not called in question the Mosaic origin of the commands against idol worship, and says: The assertion that the true prophets of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had regarded the image-worship of Jahveh as lawful, will appear impossible from a glance at the oldest Scripture prophets.

He holds, with regard to the law, that while the priests were its guardians and interpreters, that it was beyond their province to produce a law (Mal. ii. 7). The legal basis indeed was possessed by pre-prophetic Jahvism. With regard to places, persons, rites, and times, he holds the negative view that, parallel with the progressive revelation of God, new structures were set up on old foundations. On the other hand, he says: We are of the positive opinion that the fundamental basis of Israel's religion had already been laid down in the youth (Hos. xi. 1), or the time of the espousals of that nation (Jer. iii. 4).

It will be seen from this discussion of König's, that if criticism were to do its worst, there would still be a firm standing ground, but we are by no means driven to make such concessions as König has done. Wellhausen's method of criticism seems, through induction, to furnish the basis for a Hegelian treatment of history, but it is open to the objection that it seems to prepare many of the data on which such important conclusions rest.

CHAPTER III.

HERMENEUTICS.

The doctrine of the Interpretation of the Scriptures is of vital importance. Although it may be held that every word, letter and point are inspired, as was once the case, yet the essential power of the Scriptures may be greatly weakened if the principles of exegesis are not sound, if interpretation be rather according to the sound than the sense, or if a meaning is put in the word which was never intended by the writer, or if passages are deliberately explained away because they are thought to be unworthy of God. Such a method of exegesis is a dishonor to the Scriptures, and to the Spirit who inspired them. The writer has seen what purports to be an explanation of the opening chapters of Genesis in a certain book on healing by so-called "metaphysics." So far as the meaning of the text is concerned, they have no connection with it except as they are printed under it. They are tied to the text as oyster shells might be to an orange tree.

All schools of critics now essentially agree on the mode of interpretation, which may be called "grammatico-historical." We assume that we have to do with a text that at the present stage of criticism is as perfect as we can secure. On the basis of this text we seek to know the teaching of a given Scripture taken in its connection, and at the time at which it was written. In regard to grammar, Scripture is subject to the same rules as the writings of any author. We have no right to vary a hair's

breadth from the grammatical meaning of the passage because from our point of view we think it ought to mean something else. We are to go to Scripture to learn what it teaches, and not to put our interpretations into it. Hence our philosophical system should have nothing whatever to do with the interpretation of Scripture. When there are two or more possible interpretations, the history of the period must determine which is the true one; for example, we do not translate the last clause of Gen. iv. 2, "I have gotten a man, Jehovah," which is a possible grammatical construction, for the history of the Messianic idea, even if we give the Messianic interpretation to iii, 15, does not render it at all probable that Eve thought she had given birth to a god-man, Jehovah. Hence, in view of the history we translate the passage: "I have gotten a man with [the help of] Jehovah." We have no right, therefore, to read the New Testament between the lines of the Old. The Old Testament leads up to the New, and prepares the way for it, but the Old and the New are not identical in their teachings.

The direct literature on this subject has not been extended in recent years, although a work appeared three years ago in the Methodist series¹ which has already been noticed in a former volume.²

Farrar's *History of Interpretation*³ is a very instructive and suggestive book, and bears marks of extensive acquaintance with the literature of the subject. The historical discussion of the question is best adapted to show the importance of the grammatico-historical interpretation, and the utter folly of supposing because a man

¹Terry, *Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments*, 1883.

²See *Current Discussion in Theology*, Chicago, 1884, vol. ii, p. 109.

³London, 1886.

can spell out the true meaning of a passage here and there in the original that he is competent to ascertain the real meaning of the Scripture in question.

He says in his preface that "The existence of moral and other difficulties in the Bible * * * vanish before the radical change of attitude which has taught us to regard the Bible as the record of a progressive revelation divinely adapted to the hard heart, the dull understanding, and the slow development of mankind." He truly remarks that "Religious controversy went to Scripture not to seek for dogmas, but to find them," and he affirms that "the vast mass of what has passed for Scriptural interpretation is no longer tenable," and that the Christian expositors inherited the fatal legacy of Palestinian and Alexandrian methods. There is hardly an error in their pages," he says, "which cannot be traced back in principle to the Rabbis or to Philo."

He distinguishes seven main periods and systems of biblical interpretations: The *Rabbinic* from 457 B.C. to 498 A.D.; the *Alexandrian* from 180 B.C. to 200 A.D.; the *Patristic* from 95 A. D. to 1117; the *Scholastic* from 1142 to the Reformation; the *Reformation*; the *Post-Reformation* to the middle of the eighteenth; and of the modern epoch.

He gives illustrations of the various methods, and shows how the Rabbinic logician, by perverting the letter of the law destroys the spirit; how Philo, of the Alexandrian school, taught negatively, that "the literal sense must be excluded when anything is stated which is unworthy of God * * * positively the text is to be allegorised when expressions are doubled; when superfluous words are used; when there is a repetition of facts already known; when an expression is varied; when synonyms are employed; when a

play of words is possible in any of its varieties; when words admit of a slight alteration; when the expression is unusual; when there is anything abnormal in the number or tense." He says: "Many of these rules are not peculiar to Philo, but * * * were adopted by Origen. * * * They have furnished volumes of baseless application without shedding upon the significance of Scripture one ray of genuine light. The rules * * * in any case have scarcely a particle of validity."

With regard to the third, or *Patristic*, period he says: "No interpreter except Origen and Jerome has ever exercised so deep an influence on the modes of exegesis as Augustine. His comments are sometimes painfully beside the mark, but we get an insight into the erroneous methods by which he was led astray when we find him endorsing with warm praise the seven rules of Tychonius." The foundation of these rules is in the reduction of everything to generalities and abstractions. "It is argued that all Scripture must be allegorically interpreted because David says, 'I will open my mouth in parables.' * * * The argument, which does not hesitate to apply to the whole literature of a millenium and a half the misinterpreted expression which the Psalmist used of a single psalm, is a fair specimen of the futility of the proofs offered in defense of these bold methods." As an example of the second rule about true and false Christians, he quotes the comment on Cant. i. 5, "I am black but comely," the first epithet refers to false Christians, the second to true. And he adds that "partly owing to Augustine's approval they (these rules) became for a thousand years the fountain-head of unnumbered misinterpretations."

The Scholastic period was dominated by the pure fiction

of the "fourfold sense," which fills volumes of elaborate commentary, and which with the unquestioned acceptance of false traditions * * * vitiates the popular compendiums of five hundred years."

While the Reformation witnessed an immense advance, he shows how, in the epoch which succeeded it, the mediæval subordination of Scriptural study to Papal authority was succeeded by another subordination of it, nominally to a so-called "Analogy of Scripture" really to the current confessions of the various churches. The whole Bible, from Genesis downwards, was forced to speak the language of the accepted formulæ, and the "perspicuity of Scripture" was identified with the facility with which it could be forced into a semblable accordance with dogmatic systems."

His estimate of the character of the Old Testament Scriptures we cannot fully share, but we heartily assent to his utterance when he says: "A dogma which attaches to the crudest and least spiritual narratives of Genesis or Judges the same ethical value and supernatural infallibility as to the words of Christ, is the deathblow to all sane, all manly, all honest interpretation." And it should be remembered that his book affords evidence of the following statement: "The Rabbis, the Alexandrians, the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Protestant dogmatists all assure us, and that repeatedly, that the words of the Old Testament are, in their literal sense and their obvious meaning, sometimes trivial, sometimes imperfect, sometimes morally erroneous. In such cases they get rid of the letter by distorting it into the expression of some sentiment of their own by way of allegory. What we should rather do is to always accept the clear meaning of Scripture, but

always to judge it by the clear light of Christ." We should limit this last expression, and rather say by the clear light of God's Word as it is found in the New Testament, since we are very far from believing that the clearly revealed Scripture teachings, as seen in the final goal of revelation in the New Testament, are to be accepted or rejected according to our inner consciousness.

CHAPTER IV.

OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

I. *The Name and Scope.*

Old Testament theology is that branch of biblical theology which attempts to present the doctrines of the Old Covenant as exhibited during the most important periods of Israel's religious history. It is the culmination of other branches of Old Testament study. It is directly dependent upon Old Testament Introduction, because the question of the sources from which it is to be derived, and their approximate ages, are to be determined through the study of the Canon and of Introduction. It is also dependent on the the history of Israel, so far as this traces the religious development of the people, and may even include some reference to contemporaneous and neighboring peoples, so far as their religious systems have been factors in molding the religious thought of Israel. It lays under contribution archæology and geography, for the habits of a people and their abode give tone to their religious conceptions, and must be considered that we may determine what is temporal and local, in distinction from that which is lasting and universal. Above all things else, it is dependent upon the right theory and practice of Interpretation, or Hermeneutics. There can be no correct Old Testament theology without a correct exegesis.

II. *Its Methods.*

It is inductive. It simply asks: what are the facts as to the religious views of Israel at a given period? What

is the character of the revelation then made to them? While it should hold certain postulates as to the possibility or even probability, of a supernatural revelation, it is neither apologetic nor harmonistic. It does not come within its province to justify the form of revelation in a given age, or the religious views which were held by the Israelites of a given period. It has no concern with the traditional explanation of passages, provided that explanation is contrary to the grammar and history of the period. Its object is a purely objective one, like that of the Palestine exploration survey, it seeks to find things as they were.

III. *Its Relation to the Science of Comparative Religions.*

There is a school of critics which regards the Israelitish religion merely as one of the principal religions, and the Old Testament Scriptures as no more divine in their origin than the Koran, or Zend Avesta, or the Vedas. These consider the religion of Israel simply as a product of the human mind, which began first in fetishism, or animism, and was finally developed through polytheism into monotheism. The difference between the religion of Israel and the lowest form of religion among savages is simply in degree. There is, according to this theory, no such thing as a supernatural revelation. God is no more in Israel than in other nations. Indeed, this theory is pantheistic in its tendency.

This representation, however, that the most spiritual conceptions of God found in the Old Testament are merely products of the human mind, is contrary to the representation of Scripture, which indicates, both in its history and teaching, that the natural tendency of the race is downward.

IV. *Its Relations to New Testament Theology.*

While Old Testament Theology is not on the same plane as New Testament with respect to the doctrines which it teaches, yet it is preparatory to it. We might as well attempt to understand the doctrines of the New Testament without those of the Old as to scale the Cheops if half of the lower steps were to be removed. While we cannot seek in the Old Testament the proof-texts for the New Testament doctrines we may find them germinally and typically.

The relation between Old and New Testament Theology is radically different from that which exists between the New Testament and any of those systems which are presented in treatises on comparative religions.

V. *Its Relation to Systematic Theology.*

Systematic Theology arranges the religious truths of Christianity in a system. Two principal methods may be pre-supposed :

1. A system of theology may be based principally on the revelation of God in the Scriptures, and secondarily on the revelation of Himself in the Church. Practically most of the systems of theology have been constructed in this way. We find ourselves at a certain point in the life of the Church. Our theological views are more or less consciously affected by those who have gone before us. Even if we think that we derive our statements of doctrine from the Bible we shall find that we are following largely in the footsteps of the great teachers of the Church.

2. There may be a system of theology which claims to be purely Biblical, and which may adopt the name of Biblical Theology. This, however, is an entirely differ-

ent branch from that which we propose. The criticism is most frequently made by devout Christians that the Bible is not sufficiently studied in our Theological Seminaries, that there is too much study about the Bible, and not enough study of the Bible itself, hence the effort is made to conform systems of theology more fully to the Bible. But even if such systems were entirely inductive, and the different doctrines were taught somewhat in the proportions indicated in the Scriptures, such a system of theology would be very different from the study which we have in hand.

Biblical theology, as a department of study, simply has to do with the collection of materials and their arrangement by periods, according to the religious knowledge of God's people as set forth in the Scriptures centuries ago. Systematic theology has to do with eternal truths, with special emphasis on those which may be demanded by the present condition of the church.

Biblical theology is no more co-extensive with systematic theology than the history of doctrine is. Biblical theology is really the history of doctrine as exhibited in the Scriptures. It is no more an invasion of the department of systematic theology that we should present the doctrines of the Old Testament in their historical development, than it is that the department of church history should exhibit the growth of doctrine in the church during the ante-Nicene period. Both biblical theology and history of doctrine are subjects for specialists, who have at least had a particular training in Old Testament, New Testament and ecclesiastical studies.

VI. *The Importance of the Study for Students of Theology.*

While a practical view of the subject might lead us to

feel that both biblical theology and the history of doctrine are superfluous, yet if it be well that a student take any course of reading outside of the lectures on systematic theology it is perhaps quite as important to know what the teaching of Mosaism, Prophetism, and the Chochma were, as to study the works of our modern theologians. Indeed, both are desirable.

While we are not to dismiss the theology which has been developed in the church as though God's spirit did not reside in it, yet we should go back to the unadulterated Word to see what God has been pleased to reveal at sundry times in the old dispensation, as well as in the new. And, while no essential doctrines will be changed, yet if instead of regarding all the Bible alike as a collection of proof texts, as was done in this country fifty years ago, we see how there has been a gradual progress in the revelation of divine truth we shall have a juster estimate of the relative importance of the various doctrines which have been gathered in a system.

VII. *Its Sources.*

Its sources are the canonical books of the Old Testament. While the extent of the canon has not been determined by divine authority, yet we may say that it has been providentially determined. It is probable that our Lord recognized substantially the same books as we now find in the Old Testament. It is most unlikely that He considered a single apocryphal book as Scripture.

While the Apocrypha forms a necessary transition between the Old and New Testaments, yet it cannot be considered a source, although it may be regarded as an appendix of the sources, of Old Testament Theology.

These sources should not be regarded as containing the Revelation, but as the Revelation itself. We do not mean by this to deny the temporal, human, and imperfect character of Old Testament Scripture in many respects. But we do not relieve ourselves from difficulty when we say that all of which our Christain consciousness does not approve is of human origin, and therefore does not pertain to the Revelation. We must remember that God has seen fit, in His providence, to allow these marks of human imperfection in His Revelation, just as in the revelation of His love to man through Jesus Christ, He allowed Him to be born in a manger and wrapped in swaddling clothes.

Nor is Old Testament Theology to be concerned with the scientific accuracy and historicity of every part of its sources. Since God has been pleased to choose sinful man as the instrument of His revelation, it is not for us to claim that the laws of human thought and mental activity have been miraculously set aside, in order to convey perfect science and history. While we should not be indifferent to the verification of the historical statements of the Old Testament, and may rejoice in every confirmation, yet we should not put ourselves in such an attitude as to tremble for the ark of God in view of modern investigations. It is a great misfortune that it should ever be supposed that there can be a conflict between science and religion. Faith in the saving truths of God's Word, and a wise conservatism should be exercised by every Christain scholar.

VIII. *Growth of the Science.*

Biblical theology is a child of modern Biblical criticism. It existed only in name before that science was fully

developed. But nothing more was intended by the term than a collection of proof-texts taken indiscriminately from the Old and New Testaments, without reference to their historical setting. This is not Biblical theology in the scientific acceptance of the term. It has been first developed during the present century. The greatest names in the Old Testament branch of this study are those of Ewald (d. 1875); Oehler (d. 1872), and Schultz. The first and last names represent the most advanced wing of the earlier and later criticism, while Oehler occupies a conservative position.

Three new works on Old Testament theology have appeared during the past year, not to mention Prof. Day's edition of Oehler's Old Testament Theology, which was published in 1874.¹ Oehler's work is still a favorite textbook in Germany. Prof. Weidner, of the Theological Seminary of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod at Rock Island, has produced a compact manual based on Oehler,² which may be recommended to those who would not prefer the larger, fuller work edited by Prof. Day.

Our interest, however, centers in two works, which have come from the modern critical school of Reuss, one by a Strassburg pastor, Piepenbring,³ and the other by a Strassburg professor, Kayser,⁴ who was an important factor in enforcing the views of Graf. The relations between these two writers is uncommon. Prof. Kayser aided his friend, the pastor, in the publication of his work. His own dis-

¹New York, 1874.

²Chicago, 1886.

³Théologie de L'Ancien Testament, Paris, 1886.

⁴Die Theologie des Alten Testaments, Strassburg, 1886.

cussion of the subject, which was first delivered in the form of lectures to the theological students of Strassburg University in 1883, were published after his death last year under the editorial care of the venerable Reuss.

His position in comparison with that of Wellhausen is conservative, and approaches that of König. The same may be said of his friend, Piepenbring.

We begin first with the work of Kayser. He says, in speaking of the importance of the science, that the progress of exegesis has shown that Christian dogmatics deviate in many ways from the text, and that the doctrine of the Bible is much more simple than that of the church.

He divides his work into four periods:

1. The origin and vicissitudes of Mosaism from Moses until Solomon.
2. The further development of Mosaism from Solomon until the Exile.
3. The fixing of the knowledge which had been attained from the return out of the Exile until the Greek dominion.
4. The time of the decomposition of Mosaism under external influences until the destruction of the second temple.

He takes as strong ground as König with reference to the origin of monotheism in the time of Moses, for he affirms that Renan's assumption that the Shemites were monotheists by birth is utterly contradicted by history.¹ He says, that according to the oldest historical documents, monotheism was introduced by Moses on the wilderness journey. He is called a messenger of Yahveh (Micah. vi. 4), and the first incomparable prophet (Hos. xii. 14), to whom God previously revealed Himself on Sinai. As these testimonies are of comparatively recent date, one might be tempted to doubt them. Nevertheless, it is a

¹Kayser, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Strassburg, 1886, p. 20.

fact that in certain circles in the time of the Judges, monotheism was predominant. No other time is to be thought of than that when the tribes of Israel were relieved from their servitude of several hundred years. The religious regeneration is certainly closely connected with the political birth of the people. We hold it, therefore, as an unsailable fact, that Moses, the liberator of Israel, was also the founder of its religion.

He says that at an early period many attributed the superiority of Moses to his people to his Egyptian training. They have emphasized the fact that the Egyptian secret instruction was monotheistic, and that one God has the name "I am that I am" (Cf. Ex. iii. 14). But he objects that the Egyptian monotheism is pantheistic, the one God here is the universal power of nature, while Moses' God is Lord over nature. He, moreover, thinks it unlikely that Israel, at the moment that it tore itself free from Egypt, would have ascribed its rescue to an Egyptian God.¹

While he declares that Moses was not an author in an age when the Israelites certainly could not read, he holds that in a certain sense we must regard him as a legislator of his own people, although he says the opinion must be given up that he was the author of all the Pentateuchal laws. He affirms that Moses did not give the state a constitution, that his chief concern was with religion. He was the mediator of a covenant between God and Israel (Hos. xii. 14), and this covenant was the kernel of Mosaism.

His representation of the teaching of the apochryphal books and the New Testament on the subject of Jewish

¹*Ibid*, p. 30.

eschatology is certainly interesting as coming from one who has only a scientific interest in the subject. We give an abridgement without the Hebrew and Greek words.

SYSTEMATIC VIEW OF JEWISH ESCHATOLOGY.

The entire course of the world is divided into two periods: 1. The past and present time of trouble, imperfection and sin (*this age*, or the *present age*, Matt. xii. 32; Luke xx. 34; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Titus ii. 12); 2. The future time (the age to come, Matt. xii. 32; Luke xx. 35, xviii. 30), a time of happiness, of perfection, virtue and blessedness. The last part of the first period is called in Daniel the end of the days, in the New Testament, the last days, the end of the ages, etc. (James v. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 1; 1 Cor. x. 11), most frequently the consummation of the age (Matt. xxiv. 3). Between both periods falls the judgment of the world, and with most the resurrection of the dead and the renewal of heaven and earth. The Messianic kingdom synchronizes sometimes with the several periods, after the judgment, sometimes between both as the prelude of the second (4 Ezra).

This prelude, which aims at the completion, is introduced by the appearance of a person who is to introduce the political and religious transformation of the church. This person is called the Messiah, the Anointed (Ap. Bar. xxix. 3; xxx. 1, xxxix. 7, etc.), the Christ (Matt. ii. 4; Luke ii. 26; ix. 20); King of Israel (John i. 50; Luke xix. 38); Son of David (Matt. xxii. 42, etc.), signifying the same as King; Son of God, signifying the same as Christ in the New Testament (Matt. xxvi. 63; Luke xxii. 70; John i. 50).

* * * * *

The time of his appearance is predetermined by God.

It is called the fullness of the times (Tob. xiv. 4ff; Mark i. 15; Gal. iv. 4), and is for man an inscrutable secret (4 Ezra vi. 10; xiii. 51). Hence it is said that he comes like a thief in the night, or like the lightning (Matt. xxiv. 27). Nobody knows the hour.

* * * * *

The signs of his coming are an ever increasing distress and corruption on the earth, a time of trouble (Dan. xii. 1), grievous times (2 Tim. iii. 1), great tribulation (Matt. xxiv. 21), great distress (Luke xxi. 23), * * * in a word, the so-called birth-throes of the Messianic period (Matt. xxiv. 8; Mark xiii. 9). To it belong national calamities, war, famine, pestilence (Matt. xxiv. 6ff.; 4 Ezra ix. 1ff.; xiii. 31ff., etc.); appearances which awaken terror in nature, eclipses of the sun and moon, the falling of the stars, earthquakes (Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxi. 11-25)

* * * Further, ever-increasing moral corruption (Matt. xxiv. 12; x. 35), dissolution of all the bonds of piety (4 Ezra v); apostasy from the faith of the fathers (Matt. xxiv. 5, 11, 24, etc.); persecution and oppression of the pious (Dan. ix. 26; Matt. xxiv. 9, etc.). * * * Finally, the appearance of the Antichrist, a demoniacal being, an incarnate devil, in whom all the power of the world and the enmity against God is concentrated, who opposes God and his people, and calls down the vengeance of Heaven.

* * * * *

The business of the Messiah is the founding of the Kingdom of God. To this belongs, first, the restoration of Israel from a political point of view, as in the prophets * * * the raising up of the throne of David (Acts i. 6), finally, the rule of Israel over foreign nations (Dan. ii. 44; vii. 14-27, etc.). The moral restoration is contempora-

neous with the political restoration of Israel. * * * In connection with this is the conversion of the heathen (Tob. xiv. 4ff.; xiii. 6), and at the same time the subjugation of all under the law of the Messiah (Ps. Sal. xvii. 32ff, etc.)

He says that according to the ancients the Messianic kingdom endured forever (Dan. vii. 27). According to others, especially later [writers] it is not the last end of the world, but only a period of it. * * * According to the rabbis it is one thousand years. * * * During this period Satan is bound in Sheol. As participants in this first Messianic period are not only the pious who are alive, but also the faithful Israelites who have died, especially the martyrs (Dan. xii. 2-13, etc.). It is called the *first resurrection*. A new and last struggle forms the close of this earthly period of happiness. Satan, who is let loose, excites a mighty war against restored Israel. A great army gathered from all the ends of the earth for which Gog and Magog (Ez. xxxviii. 39) serve as a type, marches against Jerusalem, but is overcome by God Himself, and is cast with Satan into Gehenna (Enoch xcix. 7). Thereupon follows the general resurrection to judgment (Dan. xii. 2), or only of the righteous (Ps. Sal. iii. 16). The day of judgment dawns (the last day, Judith xvi. 17, etc.). God is judge. * * * The wicked are cast into hell-fire, and indeed forever (Ap. Bar. xlv. 15; li. 1ff; 4 Ezra vi. 1).

The work of Piepenbring¹ is admirably clear and well-arranged. He divides his discussion into three periods. The first from Moses until the commencement of the eighth century. It is distinguished by the preponderating influence of traditional ideas and usages, modified, in part

¹ *Théologie de l'Ancien Testament*, Paris, 1886.

only, by ancient prophetism. The second, from the appearance of the more ancient prophetic books until the end of the Exile, is marked by the great influence of prophetism, which has reached its zenith. The third, from the Exile until the first century before the Christian era, is characterized by the extraordinary influence of the written law and of the priesthood.¹

The book does not contain anything especially new. It seems rather to be based on works that have already appeared. We give, however, a free quotation from his discussion of the sources of Old Testament Theology, because it shows the view of the more moderate critics respecting the origin of some of the Old Testament books:

"On an examination of the Old Testament books, we see that the Israelites did not have the historical sense more developed than most of the other people of antiquity. They fashion the past invariably after the present, or transport the present into the past; they imagine, at each epoch, that existing institutions go back to a very remote antiquity, and they write history accordingly. We cannot be surprised, since the same phenomenon is reproduced in the bosom of the Christian Church. Even to-day the majority of Catholics imagine that institutions of their Church go back to Jesus and His apostles, and ecclesiastical history has been written in good faith from this point of view. In the different Protestant Churches also, people commonly believe that the doctrine which they profess is a faithful expression of the teaching of Jesus and His apostles, and more than once, they have fashioned this teaching after modern systems of dogmatics."²

¹*Ibid*, p. 4.

²*Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

He applies this theory to the Book of Chronicles as compared with the Books of Samuel and Kings. This is a favorite theory of the modern critics, but while there may be some truth in it the theory is pushed altogether too far when the effort is thus made entirely to invalidate the statements of the Books of Chronicles with regard to the ritual and the priesthood, for Kings was written by a prophetic writer, Chronicles by a priestly.

He holds views in regard to the Pentateuch and the connection of Moses with it which would be considered conservative in Germany, although not in America.

He says: "Since the people of Israel have attributed the laws successively elaborated in their midst to Moses, as they have attributed their psalms to David and their proverbs to Solomon, we have a right to think Moses is a personage as historical as these two kings, and that he was the first great legislator of Israel, as David was its first prominent Psalmist, and Solomon was its first distinguished didactic poet. But as it is almost impossible to discriminate the authentic Psalms of David and the Proverbs of Solomon, from those which were later attributed to them erroneously, it is impossible to distinguish the laws proceeding from Moses, from those which did not appertain to him. We are perfectly certain that a great number of Pentateuchal laws are not from Moses. But there are others which might have been without our having the means to establish the fact with certainty."¹ This is essentially W. Robertson Smith's theory of the growth of the Pentateuch, as presented some years ago.²

With regard to the covenant of God with Israel, he

¹*Ibid.*, p. 11. ²See *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Edinburgh, 1881, pp. 335-385.

makes this important statement : " The idea of a covenant between Jehovah and Israel goes back very far. It certainly goes back to Moses, the founder of the Israelitish theocracy, since we do not find any place where it could have originated. In the Book of Judges and in those of Samuel, even in the most ancient fragments which they contain, like the song of Deborah, Jehovah is everywhere considered as the God of Israel, and Israel as the people of Jehovah. * * * This idea is the basis of prophetic teaching. It appears on every page of the Old Testament.¹ These are certainly important admissions. If Moses was the original law-giver, then we have a good basis for believing that at least much in the Pentateuch has come from him.

Orelli's interesting work on *The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom*,² has been brought within the reach of English readers. He alludes to the fact that twenty years ago liberalism preached on every house-top its favorite dogma, man's capacity for eternal progress. To-day, in the most advanced circles, this is looked down on with scorn. An actual progress of real value is no longer believed in. The pessimism, which in our days has gained so large a following, learned and unlearned, is itself a witness to the imperfection under which man groans. * * * Instead of redemption, nothing but a dissolution of existence will satisfy it, so strongly does it feel its burden."³

In discussing the subject of prophecy, he says : " Comparative psychology plainly teaches this much, namely :

¹ Piepenbring, *Théologie de l'ancien Testament*, Paris, 1886, p. 29.

² Edinburgh, 1885.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 2.

That the Shemites were more adapted by nature than other peoples * * * to see the absolute in the finite, the working of God in nature, His action in history, and to hear His words in the inner spiritual life of individuals. * * * Revelation joins on to existing conceptions, and is partly determined in the shape it assumes by the temperament of the prophet, the liveliness and cast of his imagination, his mental training and calling in life."¹

He defines the kingdom of the Lord as the full working out of His will in the world, the dwelling of God among His people in most intimate fellowship with them. He says that the form in which the prophecy is given is colored by the age in which it was uttered. It pictures God's perfected kingdom still with national tints and colors. Mount Zion is the center to which all nations journey to worship, because at the time God's kingdom was national and local in character, and the chief point was that all nations should do homage to the God then worshipped on Zion. * * * The old hereditary foes, Egypt, Moab, Edom, etc., are named as the foes who will fall before God's kingdom. Nor are these temporal forms to be regarded as a conscious accommodation of the prophet to his hearers; but they were the forms in which the future presented itself to him.²

In regard to the descriptions in Is. xi. and lx., he says: "Here the sensuous veil bursts under the spiritual glory streaming through it." He argues against the conception that in such prophecies we have a progress from error to truth. The form of the prophecy is adapted to the pecul-

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 8-9.

² *Ibid.* pp. 30, 31.

iar wants of the people to whom it is addressed, and is therefore pedagogic in design.¹

But he recognizes a truth of no less importance when he says: "And while it is certain that we ought not to transfer to the future any part of Old Testament prophecy which the Gospel has shown to be mere transient limitation, as is done to some extent by a too realistic theology, still, on the other hand, it is perverse to maintain that the only permanent elements in those oracles are certain abstract ideas, while the form has no enduring significance. As little as the agreement of the form with the appearance of the person of Christ was accidental, so little will it be unrelated to the shape of God's kingdom, that is to come."²

CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

I. *Science and the Old Testament.*

Nature and the Bible, Edinburgh, 1886, is a translation of the fourth edition of an admirable work by Dr. F. H. Reusch, Professor of Catholic Theology in the University of Bonn. He belongs to the old Catholic party. The present edition, according to the preface of the translator, has been corrected by the author so as to keep pace with the progress of scientific discoveries since the publication of the last German edition in 1876. It is written with great thoroughness and conscientiousness in a clear style. The author maintains: (1.) "God gave in ancient times, probably to the first man a revelation concerning the

¹*Ibid.* p. 36.

²*Ibid.* p. 56.

creation of the world. (2.) This revelation was handed down by tradition to Moses, and Moses, with the assistance of the Divine Spirit, so transcribed it that his transcription reproduces truly the original revelation. We have, therefore, in the Mosaic account of creation a divine and thus an undoubtedly true account of the creation of all things." With reference to the Bible and nature, he holds that "the Bible speaks of the events, phenomena and laws of nature, in the same way as the ordinary man, whose language is formed by what he sees;" and that the object of the Bible is not to give us scientific teaching, but only to impart to us moral and religious truths."

He does not hold to six literal days, but rather to six periods or "moments" in the history of creation. He maintains that when scientists speak of the eternity of matter, they do so not in a scientific way, and argues that there is no proof that there was, originally, more than one human pair.

We can warmly commend this book, which discusses this whole subject in a reverent and fair-minded spirit.

Guyot's *Creation*¹ maintains the substantial accuracy of the account in Genesis. The author essentially adopts the theory of Laplace, who "assumed, as his starting-point, the sun as a nebulous star with a powerful nucleus revolving on its axis, and whose hot, gaseous atmosphere extended beyond the limit of the orbit of Neptune." Through the cooling of this body rings were formed, which broke up and became planets.

There are two questions which arise in reading this book, one with reference to the science, the other as regards the exegesis. Scientists are certainly not agreed

¹New York, 1884.

that the theory of Laplace, simple and beautiful as it appears, is a correct hypothesis. Pfaff says, with reference to the rings of Saturn, which seem to furnish a ground for this hypothesis:¹ "The rings of Saturn, according to recent investigations, are not masses of gas [*Gas-massen*], and most probably are not fluid masses, but probably are to be considered as a thick assemblage [*"Haufwerk"*] of small moons, which do not form a connected mass, but through their nearness to each other, in their great distance from us, give the appearance of a connected ring."

From an exegetical point of view it is a question whether earth (*eretz*) in Gen. i. 2 can be interpreted to mean the matter of the universe in general, or *mayim* waters as equivalent to the gaseous atmosphere. The book, however, is very suggestive, and in its mechanical execution it is a gem.

Mr. Gladstone writes an article in an English review on *The Dawn of Creation and Worship*,² directed against the view set forth by Dr. Réville, Professor in the College of France, in his *Prolegomena of the History of Religions*, that there was no such thing as a primitive revelation of religious truth to humanity, in which he contends for the scientific accuracy of the account of creation given in Genesis.

This was followed by an article from Mr. Huxley,³ with a reply from Mr. Gladstone,⁴ a rejoinder by Mr. Huxley,⁵ and other discussions by Prof. Drummond,⁶ and also a

¹ *Die Entwicklung der Welt auf Atomistische Grundlage*, Heidelberg, 1883, p. 151.

² *The Nineteenth Century*, November, Philadelphia, 1885, pp. 685-706.

³ London, 1884.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 849-860. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 1886, pp. 1-21. ⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-205; 206-214, etc. ⁷ Oberlin, p. 220.

rejoinder by Dr. Réville. Significantly enough these discussions, omitting Prof. Drummond's, were laid hold of by *The Truth Seeker Company*, which publishes infidel and atheistic literature, such as the works of Thomas Paine and Robert Ingersoll.

An article by Prof. Dana, of Yale College, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April, 1885, is designed to show the substantial agreement of Genesis and Geology. He says: "Science has made no real progress toward proving that the divine act was not required for the creation of man. No remains of ancient man have been found that are of lower grade than the lowest of existing tribes; none that show any less of the erect posture and of other characteristics of the exalted species."

II. *The Situation of Eden.*

Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch raised the question five years ago, "*Where was Paradise?*" He answered it by arguing that Eden must have been in Babylonia, and that the river Phrat as is usually claimed was the Euphrates, which was the one river, and that Hiddekel was the Tigris, but that the Pishon and Gichon are respectively the canals Pallakopas and the so-called Shatt-en-Nil. While the work has been greatly admired for its erudition and brilliant scholarship the theory has not yet found special favor.

Paradise Found—The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole,¹ is a curious and interesting book by William F. Warren, D. D., President of Boston University, in which, with much learning, he argues that, according to the testimony of science and ethnic tradition, Eden was

¹Boston, 1885.

situated at the North Pole. He claims that this theory serves to avoid many difficulties. But, notwithstanding the abundant array of quotations, it is to be doubted whether this hypothesis will ever attain anything more than to be considered one of the curiosities of literature.

Moritz Engel is equally sure that he has solved this biblical riddle.¹ He says that Paradise was the oasis Ruchbe, eastward of the Haurân. His description of it, which he connects with the origin of the Jewish doctrine of Hades, is as follows: "The waterless, red-hot volcanic plateau, es Safâ, which has stiffened into fluid lava, is a hellish formation, and awakens horror and dismay (Wetstein); on the contrary, the oasis Ruchbe at its side, separated by a black wall of lava, is almost a supernatural piece of land. * * * The collocation of these formations is so remarkable that even an old Bedouin poet said the Safâ appeared to be like a part of Hell, and the Ruchbe a part of Paradise."²

"From the character of both these earthly localities comes the representation in the old Judaic popular language which Jesus also used. The Safa became a subterranean place where the rich man suffers from thirst and pain, but the Oasis Ruchbe the subterranean residence in Abraham's bosom."³ Prof. Delitzsch's theory seems sober, and probable in comparison with Warren's and Engel's.

III. *Jewish History and Literature.*

JEWISH HISTORY.—Perhaps the best book on the Jews is still the one by Prof. Kellogg, already mentioned in these discussions.⁴ In Putnam's Series: *The Story of the*

¹*Die Lösung der Paradiesfrage*, Leipzig, 1885.

²*Ibid.*, p. 84. ³*Ibid.*, pp. 191-192. ⁴Vol. ii. p. 20.

Nations is an interesting work on the Jews¹ by James R. Hosmer, Professor in Washington University, St. Louis. *Messianic Expectations*² is by a Jewish rabbi, Schindler. He is able to clasp hands with liberal Unitarians as appears from the preface by Minot J. Savage.³ The author says: "There is not one among us who expects the advent of a Messiah."⁴ He maintains that Jesus was not the founder of Christianity, and that "his whole history could be inscribed almost upon the nail of a thumb."⁵ He maintains that Christianity owes its life to Paul, that Paul was no rabbi and no scholar whatsoever, that if ever Messianic expectations have been realized they were realized in Bar Kochba.⁷ He apologizes for the Jews' expectation of a Messiah by saying; "The early Church was actually, for almost three hundred years, expecting the return of their Messiah, and thus, in a most natural way, a similar notion was strengthened among the Jews. When, finally Christ did not re-appear, the Church changed its front * * * 'the kingdom of Heaven,' originally denoting an era of universal happiness upon earth was placed beyond the clouds."⁸

Contrary to all the hopes that the Jews once entertained (and that the orthodox among them still entertain) that a Messiah would return and restore the Kingdom to Israel, he says: "Israel itself is the Messiah whom God has destined to enlighten the nations of the earth." * * * We have given up all those fanciful notions of a political restoration of Israel through the instrumentality of the Messiah, and have adopted in their place the hope that all humanity will sometime reach by a steady evolution a

¹ *The Story of the Jews*, New York, 1886. ² Boston, 1886. ³ *Ibid*, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5. ⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 34-40. ⁶ *Ibid*, p. 53. ⁷ *Ibid*, p. 65. ⁸ *Ibid*, p. 84.

degree of happiness far beyond the present, and far beyond description; a state in which the evils still adhering to mankind will be removed, and its virtues increased and developed. United and hand in hand with all human brethren we shall strive to advance toward this goal; and if there must be a distinction between us, let it be that of a generous competition as to who shall reach the mark first."¹

In general terms this millenium, or golden age, that is here described is being preached by liberal theologians. In the early part of the century it was Hegelianism, it is now Darwinism applied to theology, only man is magnified and God's power is reduced to a minimum.

JEWISH LITERATURE.—The Hebrew New Testament, by Prof. Delitzsch, now issued in octavo form and large type, can hardly be reckoned under this rubric, although it may be mentioned here as by far the best translation of the New Testament into the Hebrew tongue by a Christian scholar who is best versed in Jewish literature.² It is doubtless destined to accomplish a great work among the Jews.

We refer rather to the treasures and rubbish of Jewish literature, as found in the Midrashim, or commentaries, and the Talmud, which are to be within the reach of Christian scholars. As an introduction to this literature may be commended, although with qualification, the work of Gustav Karpeles,³ beginning with the Old Testament, and extending to modern Jewish literature.

Certain parts of Jewish literature have been translated,

¹*Ibid.* pp. 8, 14. ²British and Foreign Bible Society, Berlin, 1885.

³*Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1886.

as the Mishna,¹ not to mention others, by Surenhusius,² into Latin, and by Jost³ into German, although in Jewish characters. There are also translations of various treatises of the Jerusalem Talmud in some parts of Ugolini *The-saurus*, a great work in thirty-four folio volumes, of which copies can no longer be purchased, not to mention other translations.

Dr. August Wünsche has done a particularly valuable work in translating the Midrashim,⁴ or Jewish commentaries to the Pentateuch and Megilloth.⁵ Competent Jewish scholars pronounce the rendering a good one. The same scholar has begun the translation of Haggadaic parts of the Babylonian Talmud.⁶ The first volume contains several treatises.

The Jerusalem Talmud, on the other hand, is being translated by Moses Schwab, of the National Library, Paris.⁷

This Jewish literature, as has been shown by the studies of Schoettgen,⁸ Lightfoot,⁹ Delitzsch,¹⁰ Wünsche,¹¹ Edersheim and others, is of the highest importance for the right understanding of the New Testament.

¹The Oral Law of the Jews, cf. Schiller Sziessy, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, New York, 1883; pp. 502-508.

²Amstelaedami, 1688-1702; Berlin, 1832-1854.

³Venetii, 1744-1769.

⁴Cf. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, New York, 1883; pp. 285-288.

⁵Leipzig, 1880-1883.

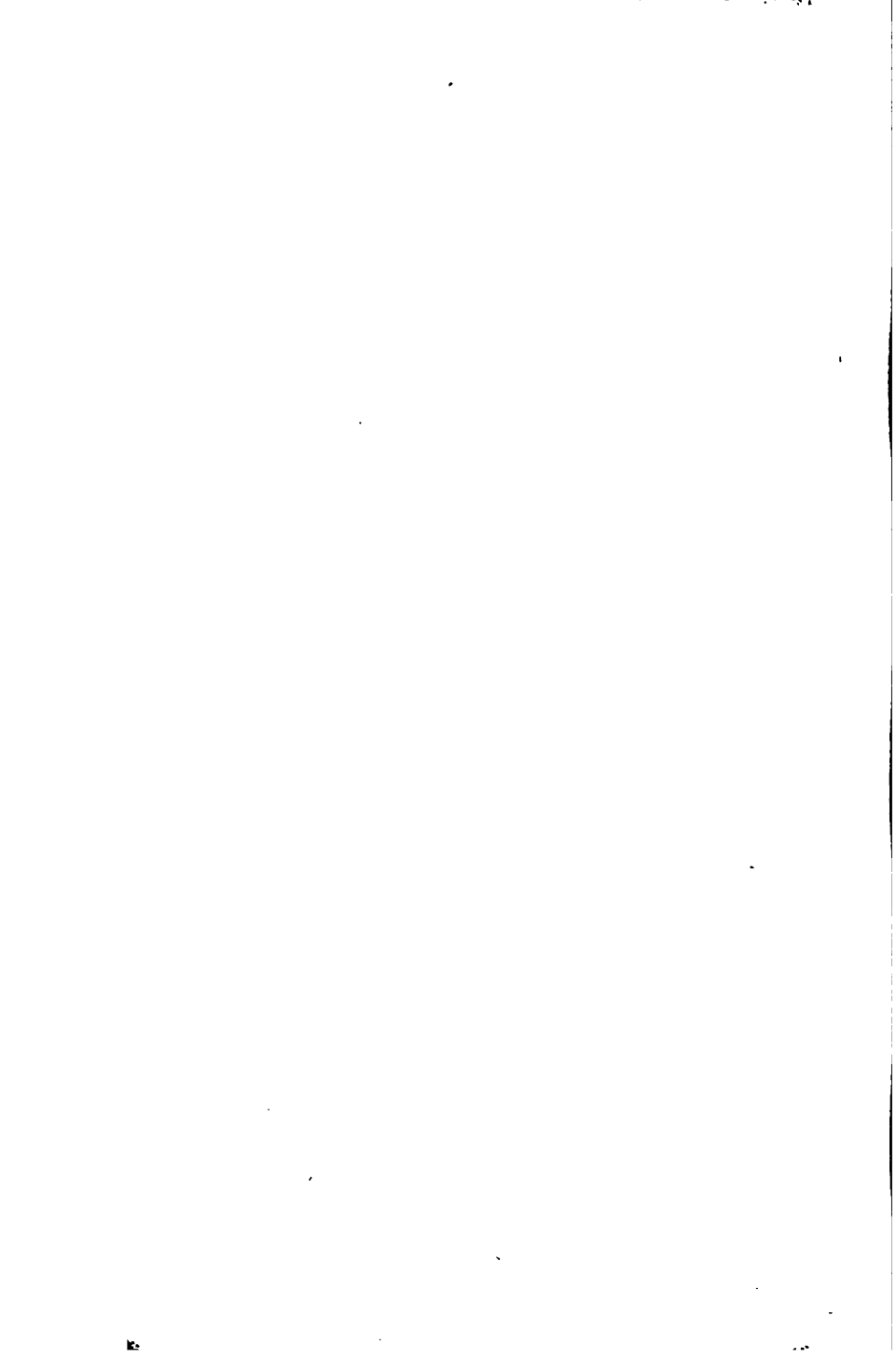
⁶*Der Babylonische Talmud in Seinen Haggadischen Bestandtheilen*, Leipzig, 1886.

⁷*Le Talmud de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1886. ⁸Dresdae, 1733-1742.

⁹*Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, Oxford, 1859.

¹⁰*Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig, 1876; pp. 401-409, 593-606, *Ibid*, 1877; pp. 1-16, 209-215, 599-607.

¹¹*Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien*, Göttingen, 1878.



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EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.
NEW TESTAMENT.

PRESENT STATE OF
NEW TESTAMENT STUDY.

BY

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EXEGETICAL THEOLGY.

NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

Holtzmann defines¹ New Testament Introduction as " that science which has to investigate the origin and original position and condition of those writings which belong to the Canon, and to give, as far as possible, a definite and objectively supported account of them."

This limitation is undoubtedly well grounded, for it is just by accepting these twenty-seven writings as chosen by the early Church for certain doctrinal and other sufficient reasons, and confining our attention to them, that New Testament Introduction can be treated as an independent study and not as a chapter in a work on early Christian literature.

He begins with the General Introduction, under which he treats first the History of the Text, defending here this part of his subject from the objections of Zahn and others who think it does not belong to a work on Introduction.

¹*Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Freiburg, I. B. 1885.

Cf. Also the new edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 4e Aufl., besorgt von W. Mangold, Berlin, 1886; and Weidner's *Theological Encyclopædia* based on Hagenbach and Krauth. Part I. Introduction and Exegetical Theology. Philadelphia, 1885.

It is held in reply, that since the idea of a Canon involved the idea of an inspired Canon, the treatment of the text, in which every word is from God if canonical, sheds much light on the history of the sacred books. The second part of Holtzmann's work deals with Special Introduction, and is a storehouse of information about each of the New Testament writings, so that it may be said, without hesitation, if a student wishes to find the fullest and clearest account of what every critic in every land has thought in these last days about the origin and aim of our New Testament books he cannot do better than turn to the work of this Strasburg professor.

HISTORY OF THE CANON.

Every careful student has noticed the great change in Christian literature when he passes from New Testament ground, including somewhat the apocryphal writings, and reaches the early Christian apologists.¹ Holtzmann says, "The last thirty years of the second century have terminal significance for the early Christian past and introduce a future essentially different in its nature. With this period begins old ecclesiastical literature, so-called, for although it grew on the soil of the Roman Empire, then permeated by Greek culture, it had its impelling factor in the new religion, which was now preparing to take possession of that world empire. The apologists of the second century moved in the current of the world literature, for they wrote for a heathen public." The antignostic polemics of Irenæus followed the Greek method of these writers, and with Clement of Alexandria, the Greek-Roman literary

¹Cf. *Current Discussions in Theology*, 1885, p. 140 f.

form was definitely appropriated and Patristic literature, in the strict sense of the word, began.

- Except the works of Justin Martyr, who was a sort of anticipation of the Fathers, the Christian writings before Irenæus, *i. e.* the New Testament and its Apocryphal companions of earlier date, also the Apostolic Fathers, belong as a literary product to a sort of "palæontological formation," the remains of a dead world now preserved in fragments, now in complete portions, governed by Jewish motives and conditions. Along this literary moraine are found the New Testament books. The Apostolic Church was not favorably situated for producing a wide literature. The congregations were unlearned, they looked for the end of the world, they lived in active, troublous times. Hence the writings were such as circumstances called forth. At the end of this first period the New Testament Canon was closed, for, in the consciousness of the Church, it was felt that in literary impulse an old was past and a new about to begin. In this transition time, from Jewish literary methods to Gentile, in the presence of Montanism, preaching a prophecy that threatened danger to ecclesiastical order, and of Gnosticism, which taught false doctrine based on spurious New Testament books, the Church settled the number of inspired writings which were to be read at public worship and be appealed to in support of truth. Holtzmann sums up the views of radical critics thus: "All fancies about a 'fall' disappear as soon as connections are once shown from the point of view of the Apostolic age to that of incipient Ecclesiasticism. Every idea also is fundamentally excluded which finds the origin of the New Testament books in such a brief space of time that the unity of their contents throughout could be

regarded as vouched for solely by the circumstances in which they arose. The history of their rise points rather to a long course of development which Christianity had gone through, before the original congregation in Jerusalem became the Catholic Church. It is no longer possible to regard these books in any other way than as the results of such a process": the only question open is, how many of these books arose in the first century, or whether the process ran on far into the second. They cannot be a simple product of an early Petrine and Pauline conflict and its gradual healing; for such a struggle did not wholly destroy the neutral basis, neither, as we can see, from Christian Alexandrianism, did it fill up the whole history of early Christianity. But they are the fruit of a similar conflict of religious factors about the cradle of Christianity, whether we follow the construction of the Tübingen or the Göttingen critics, the one making the reconciliation take place while Jewish Christianity was predominant, the other regarding the early Catholic Church as a stage in the development of Gentile Christianity, which itself had again fallen into legalism. Thus the Canon arose as part of the consolidation of the Catholic Church, and this process went on the more quickly because bishops acted later, and not congregations as at first. The Episcopate traced its origin to the Apostles, and then the Apostolic writings became authority for fixing what was Catholic teachings and practice. Bishops and Canon grew together.

Harnack gives a similar explanation.¹ He says that as late as A. D. 150, there was still no New Testament collection of books put on a level with the Old Testament;

¹*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte.* Bd. I Die Entstehung des kirchlichen Dogmas. Freiburg I. B. 1886, p. 272 ff.

and that apart from the Apocalypses there were no new writings which were regarded as holy, and as such inspired and authoritative. There was no canonical use then of our Four Gospels. Tatian's harmony, the views of the Alogi, the appearance of Montanism, all show that there was then no closed New Testament Canon. The Canon was settled in conflict with the Gnostics. The Roman Church and the Church of Asia Minor decided on the books to be accepted, choosing those which were used in public worship, and bearing Apostolic names. Others, which contradicted the common faith, were rejected as spurious. The canonical only were thenceforth to be read in churches. This put an end to prophecy apart from the written Word.

Such are the views of the advanced critics, valuable in describing historic sequence, but misleading in so far as they ignore special revelation, and proceed to trace the origin of our New Testament books as a simple survival of the fittest from a mass of early religious literature.

An interesting discovery in reference to the attitude of the Roman Church towards the Canon has been recently made by Mommsen,¹ which is nothing less than a list, hitherto unknown, of the books of the Bible, as used in the Latin, or, apparently more nearly, the African Church, in the year A. D. 359. The New Testament part is as follows:

Item indiculum novi testamenti.
evangelia iiii, Matheum vr IIDCC.
Marcus ver MDCC.
Johannem vr MDCCC.

¹*Hermes*, Bd. xxi, H. I. S., 142-156.

Luca \overline{vr} \overline{IIICC} .

fiunt omnes versus \overline{X} .

eplæ Pauli \overline{n} \overline{XIII} .

actus aplorum \overline{ver} \overline{IIIDC} .

apocalipsis \overline{ver} \overline{MDCCC} .

eplæ Johannis \overline{III} \overline{ur} \overline{CCCC} .

una sola.

eplæ Petri \overline{II} \overline{ver} \overline{CCC} .

una sola.

Quoniam indiculum versuum in urbe Roma non ad liquidum, sed et alibi avariciæ causa non habent integrum, per singulos libros computatis syllabis posui¹ numero XVI. versum Virgilianum omnibus libris numerum adscripsi.

We see here the Four Gospels and the Pauline Epistles regarded as distinct collections and put first in the list, the remaining writings being named individually, except that the epistles of Peter and John are grouped. The *Stichoi*, so carefully given and remarked upon, show watchfulness in the fourth century against both copyists and booksellers. The order of the Gospels is not that of the early Latin Church — Matthew, John, Luke, Mark ; neither is it that found in the West after Jerome — Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, but presents the peculiar order of the Curetonian Syriac and the Commentary of Theophilus — Matthew, Mark, John, Luke (Zahn).

Harnack thinks that Lucifer of Cagliari also shows the order found here, not only of the Gospels, but of all the New Testament books.² It is noticeable that the Epistle

¹After *posui* a letter has been erased. Zahn adds the remark, "the words from *posui* to *Virgilianum* seem to be a parenthesis, and to say, 'I calculated the hexameter at sixteen syllables.' " *Zft. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft, u. k. L.* 1886, H. iii.

²*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1886, No. 8.

to the Hebrews is not named anywhere in this list. It seems not to have belonged to the Canon of the African Church even in the middle of the fourth century. The growing tendency of this church, from Tertullian on, to fix the Canon, led to exclusion for a time, even of some books formerly more or less used. The Epistle of Jude went this way ; perhaps also the Epistle of James. Not till the end of the fourth century did the wider Canon of the Eastern Church supplant the narrower one of the West. This drift of opinion has been inferred hitherto, but Zahn says that the list here discovered now shows positively, and for the first time, that such enlargement of the Canon was objected to. The *una sola*, after John and Peter, presents a difficulty. Zahn thinks it is a marginal note against the Second Epistle of Peter, and the Second and Third of John. This contradictory "one only" crept into the list later, though before the end of the fourth century, when these writings were recognized throughout the West. Others refer the *una sola* to the Epistles of Jude and James.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

The genesis of our Gospels, according to Holtzmann, was somewhat in this way: Before A. D. 70 they did not exist as we have them, but written accounts of the life of Christ somewhat like them were known, the earliest collection of such being found in the Synoptic Gospels. These early sketches would arise first in Jerusalem and spread from that church center, the parts best remembered being the sayings of Jesus. The germ of a New Testament Canon may thus be found in the *λόγοι κυρίου*. Paul's account of the Last Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23) begins

in a way that shows it to come from a narrative already definitely formulated. It is probable that Matthew was the earliest Gospel writer, though he certainly did not compose our Gospel of Matthew. At most he wrote the teachings of Jesus found in it where they agree with Luke.

The Gospel of Mark, Holtzmann holds, is the most original. This well-known Mark-hypothesis, he thinks, finds support by taking the order of the individual accounts in Mark and placing those in Matthew and Luke on each side of them, when it will be found that both the others presuppose the order in Mark as the original one. The Gospels of Matthew and Mark arose in the Post-Apostolic period. The Gospel of Luke and the Acts probably did not appear till after A. D. 100.

Jacobson thinks¹ that Luke used our Gospel of Matthew, and followed it closely in his journey account (ix. 51 — xviii. 14).

Wendt approaches the origin of the Gospels in his search after the genuine teachings of Christ,² and finds two sources of the Synoptic writings. The first of these is the Gospel of Mark, which is also the earliest and the most exact in its chronological order. It rests upon a number of independent narratives, which are here brought together, though not to make a logically complete history. These early elements contained each some unity of thought or narration, and the direct source of them all must be found in the Apostle Peter. As a fair example of the modern critical method we give his dissection of Mark. The most important of the little sub-accounts are i. 14-45; iii. 7-12; iii. 19; iv. 3-4; vi. 1-6; vii. 24-37; viii.

¹*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1886. H. II.

²*Die Lehre Jesu*. I. Theil. *Die evangelischen Quellenberichte über die Lehre Jesu*. Göttingen, 1886.

10-13; viii. 22-30; x. 40; xii. 12; xiv. 1; xvi. 8. This group sets forth the attitude of men toward Christ in a series of significant events. Two sections—ii. 1-36 and xii. 13-37—give striking answers of Jesus and objections. The next series of sections, viii. 31—ix. 1; ix. 30-50; x. 13—xiii. 45; xii. 38—xiii. 6; xiii. 9-13; xiii. 21-23; xiii. 28-29 and 32-37, give the teaching of the Passion, and what it would bring to the disciples. The omitted sections in Chap. xi. vss. 7-9, 14-20, 24-27 and 30-31 have been worked in from a Jewish-Christian Apocalypse. The part which Mark really produced himself, a little before A. D. 70, was the omitted sections i. 1-13; iv. 35—v. 43; vi. 14-56; viii. 1-9; viii. 14-21 and ix. 2-19. All the rest he found as he wrote it down for us. Our second Gospel as it is is from the hand of Mark, and was so used by the writers of the first and third Gospels. Wendt, it will be seen, gives the Gospel of Mark a more important place for the Life of Jesus than Weiss and others have recently assigned it. This is especially true in comparison with the Gospel of John.

The second source of the Synoptists is found in the *λόγια* of Matthew, the text of which is approximately reconstructed from Matthew and Luke. These *λόγια* contain the report of an eye-witness, and include not only the Sermon on the Mount, but most of what Matthew and Luke have, which is not in Mark. The view of Weiss, that Mark used the *λόγια* of Matthew, is rejected. Holtzmann, in his review of Wendt, agrees with him,¹ and also with the wider extension of the *λόγια*. These latter fell out of use in the Church after the First Gospel, and still more so the Third Gospel with knowledge of its predecessor,

¹In *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1886, No. 9.

had worked over the doctrinal accounts of the *λόγια* within the historical framework of the Gospel of Mark. This last is opposed by Hilgenfeld,¹ who holds that Papias knew no *λόγια* of Matthew, except his Hebrew Gospel. He still gives the second place to Mark, and makes his Gospel a working-over of the Evangelical history on the basis of Matthew; not our present Matthew, however, which is a working-over of the original.

Jacobsen replies,² defending the priority of Mark as a basis of Matthew.

A further analysis of Matthew's Gospel has been attempted in connection with a study of the Old Testament quotations found in it. Massebieau finds³ two chief groups of these quotations: (1) Apologetic, *i.e.*, showing the fulfillment of prophecy in the life of Christ, and (2) those of moral and religious teaching, as found in the sermons and words of Christ. In the first case, Matthew followed the Hebrew, or the LXX., as suited his argument best. The addresses of Christ have quotations which are (1) common to Mark and Matthew, (2) the quotations in the Sermon on the Mount, marked by the introduction: "Ye have heard that it was said," and a free use of the LXX. These occur only in Matthew, and come apparently from the *λόγια*; (3) the quotations in the account of the Temptation, which Matthew and Luke have in common, based on the LXX., but different in tone, and likely from another source; (4) quotations found only in Matthew,

¹*Papias und die neueste Evangelienforschung*, in *Ztft. für kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1886, H. III.

²*Matthäus oder Marcus?*, in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1886, H. III.

³*Examen des citations de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Evangile selon St. Matthieu*, Paris, 1885.

coming also from the LXX., as ix. 13; xii. 5; xii. 7; xii. 40; xviii. 16. These last seem to come from oral tradition.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Wendt finds the third source of Christ's teaching in a *λόγια* collection, out of which the Fourth Gospel arose in the circle of John's disciples in Ephesus. Some of the additions sprang from acquaintance with the other three Gospels, some came from a living tradition from John, and some are deductions from the teachings of the Apostle. The discourses of Jesus in this third source appear just as they would after resting half a century in the memory of a devoted and gifted disciple. In the original *λόγια* these discourses are confined to the last days of Christ, but in the working over they are extended through His whole public ministry. Holtzmann agrees with Wendt,¹ that the author of this Gospel used sources including Pauline thought and the Acts; that this material was gathered in a Johannine atmosphere, and did not take its present form till about A. D. 150.

This Johannine thought in the air existed, he says, like star-dust before a star, some years previous to the appearance of the Fourth Gospel, but it became so mixed with meteoric material from post-apostolic sources that its historic value is greatly lessened. Hilgenfeld, in view of the latest research, holds² that modern criticism has finally made incontrovertible that the historic Christ belongs to

¹*Einleitung*, p. 427. Cf. also, in general, *The Teaching of the Fourth Gospel*, and *Omissions from the Fourth Gospel*, by H. R. Reynolds, in *The Monthly Interpreter*, March and July, 1886.

²*Das neueste Forscher-Paar* (Steck, 1884; Franke, 1885); *über das Johannes-Evangelium*, in *Zft. f. wissentl. Theologie*, 1885, H. IV.

the Synoptic Gospels, while the pre-eminence of the Fourth Gospel consists in the lofty and significant teachings of Christ, or the apprehension of Christianity, there set forth. The Fourth Gospel is for him no proper biography of Jesus; it is a later view, a manifest doctrinal tendency, but it must be admitted, he adds, that it is more than a mere book of teaching, it is a work of such artistic boldness that its author may be called the Shakespere of the Evangelists. Since Baur's analysis of the book, very few critics have disputed a deep unity in the Fourth Gospel, but recent study does not seem to show such a systematic and conscious unity as has been long supposed. Late attempts to reduce this Gospel to some doctrinal plan have led to no agreement, and such efforts are being given up. The historic elements, it is found, cannot be arranged about any of the proposed leading ideas. Both Jacobsen¹ and Holtzmann (l. c., p. 427) have done good service in opposing the ingenuity and subtle intention supposed to underlie this Gospel scheme.²

THE ACTS.

Holtzman thinks³ that the account in the first twelve chapters of the Acts is drawn from a Jewish source in all places where it contradicts the Epistles of Paul. In working in this narrative only the direct anti-Pauline points were removed. The last fragment of this source occurs in the account of the council in the fifteenth chapter; it was writ-

¹ *Untersuchungen über das Johannes-Evangelium*, Berlin, 1884.

² On external arguments cf. W. Marvin, *Authorship of the Four Gospels: External Evidence*, New York, 1886; and for comparative study, the new edition of Robinson's *Harmony of the Four Gospels in English*, with careful harmonizing notes added by the Editor, M. B. Riddle, Boston, 1886.

³ *Forschungen über die Apostelgeschichte*, in *Zft. f. wissentl. Theologie*, 1885. H. IV.

ten in Greek, by a born Jew. The missionary activity of Paul was then woven in, hence some repetitions occur, as, for example, in introducing Barnabas and Saul. In the first twelve chapters the writer stands much further from the events described than in the later part of the book. The journey narrative, Acts xvi. 10 ff., at least was written by Luke. This is the view also of Hilgenfeld and Schürer. The whole work in its present shape, as well as the Gospel of Luke, seems to have arisen not before the early years of the second century (Holtzmann). That is the view of the radical critics, but the great majority of writers still accept Luke as the author of the completed Acts, as well as of the Third Gospel.

THE PAULINE WRITINGS.

The Epistles of Paul give us the most unquestioned historic information about Apostolic times. From them we learn that his great aim, amid opposition and misrepresentation, was the practical edification of the churches, and the only Scriptural authority that he knew was the Old Testament, which he supposed read in the meetings of Christians (Holtzmann). But the undoubted Epistles of the great apostle (Rom., I. and II. Cor., and Gal.) took root, and his labors were followed by the triumph of the Gentile Church. The result, we are told, was a restitution of Paul's glory, the elevation of his letters to almost canonical rank, and the production of not a few spurious epistles under his name. Holtzmann sets forth the details thus: Among the letters ascribed to Paul was the Epistle to the Ephesians, the writer of which makes Paul a witness of his victory, and puts words of peace in his mouth while he addresses a Gentile church, whose organization a

second writer describes, some decades later, under Paul's name, in three letters known as I. and II. Timothy and Titus. Colossians sprang from the same soil, and stands related to Ephesians as Titus to I. and II. Timothy, and II. Peter to Jude, being working over at different times of common material.

The most assailed of these Pauline writings is the group called the Pastoral Epistles. Besides the arguments against their genuineness, drawn from the style, the difficulty of finding a place for them in the apostle's life, and the doctrinal development supposed to be found in them, it has been especially urged in recent discussions by Hatch, Harnack and Holtzmann, that the constitution of the early churches here set forth shows the advanced system of the second century, and could not, therefore, have been so spoken of by Paul. But investigation still more recent, on the conservative side of the question, has modified appearances a good deal, and made out a pretty strong argument from a direct study of the ecclesiastical institutions which appear in these Epistles, in favor of their Pauline authorship. The office of *ἐπίσκοπος* and that of the congregational office combined with teaching, both appear only in germ in the Pastoral Epistles. The first is illustrated by Timothy and Titus, the second is seen in I. Tim. v. 17 ("Let the elders that rule well, etc."), all of which points to the first century as the time when the author wrote. These Epistles show, further, a liberty of teaching among the brotherhood not found in the writings of the second century; for even the *Διδάχῃ* speaks of bishops as teachers.¹ Church government in apostolic days and its developments have been thus set forth by

¹Cf. Kühl, *Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen*, Berlin, 1885.

another writer.¹ In the Jewish-Christian churches the office of presbyter developed in the Apostolic age into the Congregational Episcopate, and the Congregational Episcopate presented itself, in consequence of the connection of the Palestinean churches with the church in Jerusalem, as an Episcopate of the churches. Rapid development of the office and idea of the Episcopate, as an imitation of Christ — the presbyters imitating the apostles — forms the chief peculiarity of the Jewish-Christian church constitution — a constitution which was also influenced by Hellenism. In Gentile churches there developed, partly under the hastening influence of Jewish-Christian elements in the congregation, the office of congregational superintendent, as well as the office of deacon; through both of which also there grew a cordial and vital congregational cohesion by means of unity of faith, hospitality and mutual help, though there was as yet no ecclesiastical constitutional oneness. The comparatively quick growth of Christian church constitutions in the Apostolic age is not surprising, for they doubtless, in not a few respects, borrowed from the methods of the Jewish congregations in the Diaspora. Müller shows that the historic proof has not yet been given that shows the church system of the Pastoral Epistles could not have arisen in the days of Paul, and closes thus: "We are of the conviction that Pauline assurance of faith shines clearly from words like I. Tim. i. 15; ii. 1ff; iii. 16; vi. 6-12; II. Tim. i. 7; ii. 8; iii. 16; and Titus ii. 11-14. Such a genuine legacy from Paul even Plitt and Hausrath could not doubt; and we venture still to hold to the old 'Epistle of Paul the

¹J. Müller, *Die Verfassung der christlichen Kirchen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten und die Beziehungen derselben zu der Kritik der Pastoralbriefe*, Leipzig, 1885.

Apostle to Timothy and Titus.' " Weiss, who writes the commentary on these Epistles, to take the place of Huther's in the fifth edition of Meyer's work,¹ also accepts them as from Paul, and offers a powerful defence of them; and though he thinks the proof is hardly a demonstration, he holds that there is no valid argument against them, while they have all the presumption in their favor.²

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

Holtzmann says modern criticism finds two groups of pseudepigraphic writings in the New Testament, the first clinging to the name of Paul and taking the form of letters to particular churches or individuals, the second differing in this that it strikes a note of universality, and, though retaining the appearance of epistles, addresses the whole church, and that under the names of the "pillar apostles," Peter, James, John, then Jude, the "brother of James." The writers of these Catholic Epistles were, we are told, the "apostles, prophets and teachers," who followed the first apostles, and all these letters are "tendency writings." Thus I Peter follows closely some of Paul's doctrinal views, and then turns round to follow just as closely James in his practical moral apprehension of Christianity. The writer of the Epistle of James shows dependence (I, 25) upon Pauline formulæ, though opposing Paul's teaching of faith. I. Peter v. 12 assures the Pauline churches that they enjoy the grace of God; while II. Peter iii. 15-16 goes on to

¹*Kritisch exegetisches Handbuch über die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus, in Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, von Dr. H. A. W. Meyer, Elfte Abthl., fünfte Aufl., Göttingen, 1886.

²Cf. in the same direction the valuable introduction to these Epistles by Huther, and to the Hebrews by Lünemann, in this volume of Meyer's Commentary in English, the American edition with preface and supplementary notes, by T. Dwight, New York, 1886.

give Paul a certificate of full orthodoxy. So post-apostolic men who labored for peace wrote epistles for Paul to win the followers of Peter, and for Peter to gain the Pauline churches through praise of the apostle to the Gentiles. The Tübingen theory is here applied. Thus between the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians and the writer of II. Peter, "that late comer of New Testament Literature,"¹ a series of nameless authors ran for the first eighty years of the second century. These men wrote the Pastoral Epistles, the Catholic Epistles, including I. Peter, I. John, as well as II. and III. John, and James, and with very doubtful exceptions everything claiming Pauline authorship beyond the four great *λεγόμενα*. We need hardly add that very few critics, even of the radical school, take this extreme position. So many unknown writers, and so much use of apostolic names as are supposed in this pseudo-literature, lead most New Testament scholars to accept these Epistles as genuine rather than receive the elaborate hypothesis upon which their rejection is urged.

THE APOCALYPSE.

Holtzman follows Loman and Völter² in thinking this book also may be a successive growth, beginning about the year A. D. 70, and receiving interpolations down to the time of the Antonines. He considers it, next to the Pauline Epistles, as a historic source for the times of the Apostles. Völter supposes the first part of the work,

¹Spitta's book, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, Halle, 1885, offers an able defense of these Epistles, and makes a strong case against Holtzman in favor of the priority of II Peter. He agrees with Seufert (in *Zft. für wissentl. Theologie*, 1885, H. III) in holding that Silas wrote I. Peter, and hence it is only indirectly from Peter.

²*Die Entstehung der Apokalypse*, 2 Aufl. 1885. For a more conservative view Cf. W. Milligan, *The Revelation of St. John*, the Baird Lectures for 1885.

depicting the judgment over Rome and the deliverance of the faithful through the last troubles, was written as early as A. D. 66. An appendix followed about A. D. 68, and then came a threefold amplification under Trajan, Hadrian and Antonine—the last touches being added about A. D. 140. Zahn opposes all this, and appeals to the testimony of Irenæus.¹

Mommsen, the distinguished historian, thinks a minute study of the Roman Empire in the first century has given him new light on the Apocalypse.² The rider of the white horse with the bow (vi. 2-3) and of the red horse with the sword, represent the Roman and Parthian kingdoms side by side; and the final catastrophe is regarded as the overthrow of the Romans through the return of Nero at the head of the Parthians (ix. 14; xvi. 12), when the united powers of the East shall break the might of the West at some terrible Armageddon.

The Apocalypse was written at a time when Christians were still but a Jewish sect, hence the elect twelve thousand from each tribe had entrance before the great multitude of other elect from the Gentiles (vii. 9). This book was written after Nero's fall and when his return was expected from the East. The basis of the author's thinking is the destruction of the earthly Jerusalem and its ideal reconstruction in the future. The five kings who had fallen were, likely, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius and Nero. The sixth was Vespasian; the seventh is left indefinite for prudential reasons; his reign would be short and disappear when Nero returned. The beast, which

¹Cf. his *Apokalyptische Studien*, in *Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben*, 1885, H. x. and xi.

²Cf. *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. 5, *Die Provinzen von Cæsar bis Diocletian*, Berlin, 1885.

was, and is not, refers of course to Nero. The common explanation of this book, viz.: that it thunders against the persecution of the Christians under Nero, and the siege of Jerusalem, Mommsen considers quite mistaken; for the object of the writer's attack throughout is the Roman provincial government, and especially the worship of the emperors. Nero is particularly pointed out by the number 666, not because he was the worst emperor of the seven, but because it was not safe to name the ruling emperor, and because Nero had already become connected with legendary terrors. This pseudo-Nero, one Terentius Maximus, gathered an army about the Euphrates, and got power until crushed by the Parthians and given to Domitian about A. D. 88. These incidents are the framework of the seer's vision of a power that should destroy Rome. The beast of the sea and the beast of the land and their worship mean the adoration of the emperors in the provinces of Asia and also beyond the sea, and not violence done to Jerusalem (xiii. 16-17). The ten horns are imperial governors, who ruled like kings. The martyrs were those who would not worship the emperor's image, just as Pliny describes them. Babylon is Rome, the woman in purple is the false worship there, the blood flowing in that city points to the condemned martyrs brought to the capital where they were "butchered to make a Roman holiday." The contrast, then, of the Apocalypse is that of false man-worship centered in the Roman emperor and true man-worship centered in the Divine Son of God, who gloriously appeared to John in vision.

CHAPTER II.

NEW TESTAMENT TEXT.

THE study of New Testament sources is going on actively through manuscripts, through versions, and patristic quotations. The manuscripts in the Vatican have long been a sealed treasure, largely because it was not known what was there. But now liberty to use the library is being enlightened by a knowledge of what it contains. De Rossi published in 1884 *La Biblioteca della Sede Apostolica*, in which he gave a history of former catalogues, and an outline of the best of them. Now, under Cardinal Pitra, Stevenson has begun the publication of a complete critical list of the MSS. of the Papal library.¹ To the nine Greek MSS. of the Palatina, given by Scrivener, this catalogue adds three others, besides some fragments. These three are a codex containing the Epistles of Paul, of the tenth century (Cod. 10), with scholia, a MS. of the Acts, Catholic Epistles and Pauline Epistles, of the twelfth century (Cod. 38), and a manuscript of the Pauline Epistles with scholia, of the eleventh century (Cod. 204).

A new MS. has also just been described by Batiffol, a member of the French Archæological School in Rome.² He found in the library of the Metropolitan of Albania, in Berat, about twenty MSS., liturgical and biblical, and has given some account of the most val-

¹ *Codices Manuscripti Palatini Græci Bibliothecæ Vaticanae, etc.*, Romæ, 1885.

² Cf. *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'histoire publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome*, 1885; also in separate form, *Evangeliorum Codex Græcus purpureus*, Romæ, 1885.

uable of them. The chief codex contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark on purple parchment, like that of Codex Rossanensis recently discovered, and written with silver letters. It came from Patmos to Syria, and thence to Albania in the fourteenth century. A marginal note says it was written by John Chrysostom; but if it belongs to the fifth or sixth century, as seems likely, it cannot be by John, though the note may indicate its source in the school of Antioch. The MS. consists of one hundred and ninety leaves, and has the following gaps: Matt. i. 1—vi. 3; vii. 26—viii. 7; xviii. 25—xix. 3; xxiii. 4—13; also Mark xiv. 62—xvi. 20, these losses coming apparently from defective leaves. The codex has two columns on a page, and is put by Batiffol in the end of the fifth or the early part of the sixth century. Von Gebhardt puts it a century later. The text promises to be of great interest because of the variety of its readings. It contains the long insertion after Matt. xx. 28, found hitherto only in Cod. D, and has peculiarities of both East and West, which make critics look with impatience for its full publication.

Batiffol reports also a second new purple MS. of the Four Gospels, belonging to the tenth century, and written in minuscules. There are other Gospel MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and a MS. of Acts of A. D. 1158.

A further contribution to the text of the Gospels has been made by Belsheim. The manuscript of the Four Gospels which he introduces¹ has been long known to exist, having been brought in 1829 by a merchant from the monastery of Jumisch-Khane, in Asia Minor, to St.

¹*Das Evangelium des Marcus nach dem Cod. Theodoræ Imp.*, zum ersten Mal herausgegeben. Aus dem neunten Jahrhundert, etc. Christiania, 1885.

Petersburg, where it now is. It is written in golden cursives on purple parchment, and the silver ornamentation, as well as the pictures of the four Evangelists and others, make it quite possible that it belonged to the Empress Theodora, the friend of images, if not written by her, as the tradition says. Belsheim publishes the text of Mark and the readings of the other Gospels, which differ from the Textus Receptus. This he did to avoid expense and because Mark in this manuscript especially differs from the current recension, following closely the Western Text and agreeing frequently with Cod. D.; while the other three Gospels follow the Constantinopolitan Text.

Hilgenfeld does not think the fragment found in Fayoum (Cf. *Current Discussions*, vol. iii., 1885, p. 99) is part of an unknown Gospel.¹ It has rather gone through the mode of treatment of the first Gospel, or is likely a piece of a homily of the third century.²

Good work is also being done in studying Latin texts of the New Testament. Belsheim has published³ portions of Mark and Luke in an old Latin version, which, though published before, were not in one book nor easily accessible; and Corssen has edited⁴ a critical text of the Vulgate version of the Epistle to the Galatians.

The examination of Syriac versions also sheds some light on the New Testament text. Baethgen has sub-

¹Cf. *Kein neuentdecktes Evangelium*, in *Ztft. f. wissent. Theol.* 1886; H. I.

²Zöckler, *Die biblische Literatur des Jahres 1885*, in *Ztft. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben*, 1866; H. I.

³*Codex Vindobonensis membranaceus purpureus literis argenteis aureisque scriptus. Antiquissima Lucae et Marci translationis Latinae fragmenta.* Lipsiæ, 1885.

⁴*Epistula ad Galatas ad fidem optimorum Codicum Vulgatæ recognovit, prolegomenis instruxit, Vulgatam cum antiquioribus comparavit*, Berlin, 1885.

jected¹ the Curetonian recension to careful criticism, and by retranslating it into Greek sought to discover the reading of the text which its translators used. By this process he shows that not a few of the various readings quoted from the Syriac do not occur in it, while some must be corrected, and a few new ones added. A list of these last is given. He traces the origin of the Curetonian Syriac thus: Tatian first gave the Syrians the Gospel in their own language when he published his Harmony in Syriac. For nearly a century, till about A.D. 250, this was the only Gospel in Syria. There arose then a translation of the separate Gospels, based on a Greek copy, but keeping as near as possible to the version of Tatian. The author of it is unknown, but lived apparently west of the Euphrates. It is his work which we have in the Curetonian Syriac. This was used, as well as the Diatessaron. About A.D. 340, in the region of Mosul, traces of a revision appear, and about thirty years later in Edessa a text very like the Peshitto. This was a growth from the Curetonian, the traces of Tatian being much less observable here than in the Curetonian Syriac. The close connection with Tatian may explain the many gaps in the Curetonian. The relation of the Curetonian to Codex D receives striking illustration, also the frequent agreement with Codex Sinaiticus.

This agreement is further illustrated and extended to Codex B by Harmon,² who shows that we get support here for not a few readings of these oldest MSS., just where they need support. The Syrian Antilegomena

¹*Der griechische Text des Cureton'schen Syrers wiederhergestellt*, Leipzig, 1886.

²*Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, Boston, 1885.

have also been published from a new MS. source,¹ and while adding little to our knowledge, are interesting, because the MSS. of these Epistles, lacking in the Peshitto, are not numerous.

This MS. counts the Acts and Catholic Epistles as one book, and puts the Epistle to the Hebrews in one book with Paul's Epistles. The stichometrical notes are peculiar: I. Peter has 318, II. Peter, 195, I. John, 304, II. John, 40, III. John, 47, while the number 1293, being that for all the Catholic Epistles, is the only number under Jude.

Fragments of the First, Third and Fourth Gospels have also been published in a Sahidic version.²

As connected with our subject, we may notice that some hitherto unknown MSS. of New Testament apocrypha have recently been brought to light.

Meyer tells us³ of three MSS. of *Protevangelium Jacobi*, four MSS. of the Acts of John, by Prochoros, one MS. of the Acts of Thomas, one of the Acts of Luke, two of the Acts of Philip, three of the Acts of Andrew. Of apocryphal apocalypses there is one MS. of *Liber Joannis de dormitione Mariæ*, one of the Apocalypse of Archippus, and a Didaskalia of the Holy Apostles, telling of their fasting forty days, and then, in ecstasy, receiving replies to questions about fasting, church discipline, etc. Lipsius has also received from the Monastery of St. John, in Patmos, a Greek MS. containing the full text of the *Passiones Petri et Pauli*, which he published for the first time in *Jahr-*

¹Williams' Manuscript: *The Syrian Antilegomena*, I. Peter, II. and III. John and Jude; written A. D. 1471, edited by I. H. Hall, Baltimore, 1886,

²*Bruchstücke der Sahidischen Bibelübersetzung*, von O. von Lemm, Leipzig, 1885.

³*Nachrichten über einige bisher unbenutzte theils auch unbekannte griechische Handschriften zur biblisch-apokryphischen Literatur*, in *Jahrbücher für Prot. Theologie*, 1886, H. iii.

bücher für Protestantische Theologie, 1886, H. 1. He says this text was made from a Latin original, and shows the translation plainly, though it was probably not made from the Latin version which we now have.

We may close these remarks on Greek MSS. with a brief reference to their mechanical preparation. How the leaves were lined and put together has been clearly shown for the first time by Gregory, in a paper read before the French Academy of Inscriptions.¹

The basis of the codex was a piece of parchment, which by one folding made two leaves. Such an unfolded double leaf was lined with some dull instrument on the hair side, showing the ruling in relief on the other side, and four such were laid together, with hair and flesh sides alternately under. The four were then fastened and folded and made a sheet of eight parchment leaves. Hence the rule in MSS. that two pages on the hair side and two on the flesh side always lie side by side in the open book. This is an important fact to bear in mind in investigating Greek MSS.

Not much has been done during the past year in critical studies of the New Testament text or the publication of new recensions. Westcott and Hort have issued² a minor edition of their Greek text in which all is carefully revised, the strictly alternative readings removed from the margin to the foot of the page, and rejected readings put in an appendix. The passages, John vii. 53-viii. 11, and Mark xvi. 9-20, are put at the end of the respective Gospels, while John v. 7, finds its place among the rejected readings. This is by far the best hand-book for the use of students.

¹ *Les Cahiers des Manuscrits Grecs*, Paris, 1885.

² Cambridge and London, 12 mo., 1885.

CHAPTER III.

NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

THE most important work of the past year on the Life of Christ, is Beyschlags's book¹ the first volume of which has appeared. In this volume he discusses, from the point of view of the mediating theology, the chronology, preliminary history, self-consciousness of Jesus, his Messianic calling, his miracles, doctrine, death and resurrection; the next volume is to tell the story of the wonderful life. Weizsäcker, in his review of this work (in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, No. 5) says it shows how much New Testament criticism has gained from Strauss, and also how far it has now advanced beyond Strauss, especially in our better apprehension of the historic relations of Christ's life. Yet Beyschlag goes so far as to regard a good deal of the early Messianic history as only indirectly historic; it must be considered largely as the general impressions of memory reproduced through a medium of reflection and emotion. Even the account of Christ's birth must be regarded in a higher sense than as literal history. He thinks, also, that while miracles are to be accepted, yet in such cases as multiplying the loaves, casting out devils, and raising the dead, we must give them up in our immediate understanding. He is inclined to bring in the naturalistic and visionary hypothesis to explain such wonders. Beyschlag follows Weiss in defending the historic value of the Fourth

¹*Das Leben Jesu*, Bd. I. Halle, 1885. For an estimate of different Lives of Christ cf. E. F. Williams, *Recent Lives of Christ*, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1886.

Gospel. In this connection Weizsäcker says: "Just what we can accept of the Johannine tradition as historic can be finally made certain only when we freely recognize Johannine speculation. What difficulties otherwise entangle us appear at once by a comparison of the prophetic instruction of Jesus according to the Synoptists with Johannine words of the Lord." And yet, surely the prophetic utterances of the Synoptists touch very high ground. The Son of Man there appears in the glory which John ascribes to the everlasting Son of the Father. And if we may assume that all the Evangelists describe a Divine Saviour, Immanuel, who forgives sins, and whose incarnation is the fundamental factor in man's salvation, we certainly reach a very essential place of unity in the history, theology and prophecy of the Gospels; for here all exegesis and all doctrines find their vital connection. An English writer, pursuing this line of thought,¹ finds the life of Christ to be, in an important sense, the autobiography of every loving human soul. "The word was made flesh," appears as a climax in the epilogue of John's Gospel, as it does in the fulfillment of the dreams, and hopes and prophecies of all the ages — a necessary combination, one might hold, with Dorner and the Franciscans, even had sin never broken the innocent life of the race.

Without surrendering what is distinctive to revelation we may lay stress on the Logos as a meeting-place of all religious instincts and a satisfaction of the deistic, humanitarian and pantheistic aspirations of men, as well as of their deep longings for pardon through peace with God. The Greek fathers spoke of the *λόγος σπερματικός*; why

¹Cf. *The Incarnation of the Eternal Word*, by J. R. Illingworth, in *The Expositor*, March, 1886.

may we not see it still at work through modern science, civilization and politics, carrying on now as then the "Evangelical Preparation?" What the Logos was to the whole world in that general revelation He has become to every individual in His incarnation, where He calls us all to follow Him as a reasonable service.

The new birth, which underlies such religious service and finds expression in faith and love, may find its parallel in the life of Jesus, in the rise of the consciousness of His divine Sonship. His years of childhood must have been very beautifully human, and what He appropriates of the customs and culture of those days shows what every youth may enjoy without sin.¹ The turning-point in His life may be found in the visit to the temple in His twelfth year, the only incident told of His growing experience. Paul Ewald sees² in the words: "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?" a question of painful awakening to the consciousness of the difference of His nature from that of His parents, the first link in a long chain of sorrowful knowledge. Not understood by parents, a necessary separation, even from home, the beginning of a loneliness which ended in the cry, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The two great utterances of Jesus, in the Gospels — Son of Man, and Son of God — point back to this experience of the boy in the temple, when the knowledge came to Him of forsaking father and mother and all for the kingdom of Heaven's sake, and the horizon of His family widened out to take in as brother and sister, and mother,

¹Cf. *The Childhood of Jesus*, by W. C. Gannelt, London, 1885.

²*Der zwölfjährige Jesus*, in *Ztft. für kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben*, 1886, H. III.

every one that did the will of His Father in Heaven.¹ He did not cease to be son of Joseph but now saw that relationship, first in the wider relationship of Son of Man, and then in the infinite relationship of Son of God. The term Son of Man, which Jesus applied to himself, seems still to await a full explanation. Hofmann expounds it thus:² "Jesus called himself the Son of Man in opposition to other men and in an exclusive sense, as that Son of Man in whom the race of Adam finds its goal. He forms the end as Adam formed the beginning, hence he is spoken of absolutely (Matt. xi. 3,) as the coming one. The term Son of Man does not come, as is usually said, from the Book of Daniel, where the words "like a Son of Man" stand in contrast with the mention of beasts in the vision. It was not a customary name for the Messiah among the Jews, and was not known till Jesus used it and taught it in the sense here given."

Usteri thinks³ Jesus bore this name, not so much as descriptive of His being and nature, but rather to indicate His calling. He is the Man who came from Heaven and thereby has a work to do for all humanity. He, therefore, did not call Himself the Messiah, for that would have led the Jews astray into their false Messianic views, but He took the term found in Daniel and applied it to Himself in an original way to designate Himself as the Saviour of the world. It is His peculiar name in relation to humanity and

¹For the Times in which Christ lived cf. the valuable work of Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig, 1886, a much enlarged working over of the second part of his *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*. The new edition is being published in English by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1886.

²*Biblische Theologie des neuen Testaments*, bearbeitet von W. Volck. Nördlingen, 1886.

³*Die Selbstbezeichnung Jesu als des Menschen Sohn*, Zürich, 1886.

has no direct reference to any dogmatic or theological category. He is the historic planter of salvation in humanity. So God dwelt in the ideal man and reconciled the world unto Himself.

This reconciliation of redemption includes both soul and body of man, hence the work of Christ involved anguish of body and suffering in spirit. His preparation for His public ministry trained His body as well as soul for suffering and death. A recent writer discusses this bodily culture of Christ.¹ In privacy and restraint the Lord learned patience and educated the nervous system to subordinate itself to the interests of the mind. The temptation in the wilderness shows how He learned to keep the body under. We do not hear of nervous prostration; He recovered quickly from fatigue; He had no reaction after ecstatic states; He was satisfied with a minimum of sleep; He is not said to have had dreams or visions; He was never sick — all showing that He had educated His temperament as a man and made it subserve His high mission.

Where Jesus died is still an unknown spot, the place of a skull. Merrill holds² that it is now made very probable that the hill above Jeremiah's grotto, a little northeast of the Damascus gate, is the place where He was crucified. It is without the wall of the city, and near the castle of Antonia, which is now certainly fixed in the northwest corner of the present Haram area.

The Lord died and His life seemed a failure. His followers were few, and they all forsook Him and fled. A writer in *The Lutheran Quarterly*³ thinks the small suc-

¹A. A. Lipscomb, *Christ's Education of His Body*, in *The Methodist Review*, September, 1885.

²*The Site of Calvary*, in *The Andover Review*, November, 1885.

³W. H. Luckenbach, *The Comparatively Small Success of Christ's Personal Ministry*, July, 1885.

cess which seemed to follow Christ's ministry may have been because it was His great office to work out the grand end of the gospel, rather than to preach His own gospel. He fulfilled prophecy, which said His preaching would have little success; a world converted by Christ's ministry would not have accorded with the divine economy in nature and in grace, which work gradually; the ministry of Christ deferred to the contemplated work of the Holy Spirit; and it was His purpose and prophecy that the success of His mission should appear only after its visible termination — the foundations were laid on which the building of God through the Spirit was to rise through all the ages.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION.

I. *Hermeutics.*

Farrar's *History of Interpretation*¹ leads us into the story of exegesis in the Church, though not in a very judicial or philosophic way. He holds that the "Bible is not so much a revelation as the *record* of a revelation," its inmost and most essential truths being happily placed above the reach of exegesis to injure, "being written also in the books of nature and experience, and on the table, which cannot be broken, of the heart of Man." The theory of inspiration called "verbal dictation" he holds to have been the disastrous origin of every mistaken method of interpretation. He says that "the one aim of the interpreter should be to ascertain the specific meaning of the inspired teacher, and to clothe it in the form which will best convey that meaning to the mind of his contemporaries." This result has not been reached without much conflict and "the indefinite limitation, if not the complete abandonment of principles, which prevailed for many hundreds of years in the exegesis of Scripture." That is the lesson of history, and even secular history is a revelation. Farrar distinguishes seven periods of Biblical interpretation: —the Rabbinic, from Ezra, B. C. 457, to Rab Abina, A. D. 498; the Alexandrian, from Aristobulus, B. C. 180, to Philo, who lived in the time of Christ — this system was continued

¹The Bampton Lectures for 1885, New York, 1886.

in the Christian schools till Pierius, A. D. 200; the Patristic, from Clement of Rome, A. D. 95, to Anselm of Laon, A. D. 1117; the Scholastic, from Abelard, A. D. 1142, to the Reformation; the Reformation era, in the sixteenth century; the Post-Reformation, till the middle of the eighteenth century; and the Modern epoch, " which seemed for a time to culminate in widespread atheism, but after a period of 'dispersive analysis' has ended in establishing more securely * * * the true sacredness and eternal significance of Holy Writ." The clear meaning of Scripture is ever to be accepted, and that is to be judged by the clear light of Christ. How this clear meaning may appear in this clear light is illustrated by quoting approvingly a Scotch minister who says: " If we find even in the Bible anything which confuses our sense of right and wrong, that seems to us less exalted and pure than the character of God should be; if after the most patient thought and prayerful pondering it still retains this aspect *then we are not to bow down to it as God's revelation to us*, since it does not meet the need of the earlier and more sacred revelation He has given to us in our own spirit and conscience which testify of Him." If any man asks: " How are we to discriminate between that which in the Bible ought to be to us the immediate word of God, and that, which having been but relative and transient, is not His word to us?" Farrar gives " this absolutely plain and simple rule; that anything in the Bible which teaches or seems to teach anything that is not in accordance with the love, the gentleness, the truthfulness, the purity of Christ's gospel, is not God's word to us, however clearly it stands on the Bible page." Such is the position of this division of the historico-grammatical school, which traces

itself back to Semler and Ernesti. The position of some more conservative exegetes, however, still allows them to hold a spiritual interpretation of Scripture.¹

It is not to be rejected because practiced by Jewish expositors, for the New Testament interprets the Old mystically again and again, using historical portions as typical of Christ's life (Jonah, water from the rock, etc.) and ritualistic practices to teach gospel truth. The evangelists do this; so does Paul (Rom. ix. Gal. iv. 21 f., which Farrar calls the only allegory of the later style in the New Testament, I. Cor. x. etc.), and especially John, in the Apocalypse. A *reasonable* spiritualistic interpretation, we are told, must be allowed as well as the grammatico-historical method, avoiding, of course, fanciful allegorizing. Some Psalms (*e. g.* XLV.) must be regarded as mystical; the Parables teach spiritual lessons; the Old Testament ritual was a shadow of a spiritual substance; and cases of numbers (*e. g.* 40) point toward a more general interpretation. Historic parallels also (*e. g.* Joseph and Jesus) lead to a deeper meaning, for such historical types rest on the principle of certain things being selected for record and others omitted,² on the incomplete and preparatory Revelation of the Old Testament, and on the history of Israel, embracing in its scope the origin, destiny, and, in an important sense, the history of the world. In our day, doubtless, there seems to be some danger among advanced exegetes of the spiritual side of interpretation being thrown too much into the shadow by too rigid an application of merely grammatical methods. A recent anony-

¹Cf. *The Mystical Interpretation of Holy Scripture*, in *The Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1886.

²Cf. *The Silence of Scripture a Proof of its Divine Origin*, by H. Johnson, in *The Presbyterian Review*, April, 1886.

mous writer urges¹ more consistency and simplicity in exegetical studies, and not the present limping system which young ministers adopt, following critical principles in individual cases, and again falling back on dogmatic preconceptions. He lays great stress on the historic spirit which can sink the expositor into the very heart and thoughts and times of the writer. A reviewer of his book holds that a professor of New Testament exegesis should be called rather professor for the history of Christianity in the first two centuries, so intimately are the New Testament and its history connected.

II. EXEGESIS.

The Gospels.

A recent commentary² seeks in its New Testament part to combine what Delitzsch called in his Commentary on the Hebrews the glossatorial with the reproductive method of exposition, *i. e.*, to give an explanation of the obscure parts, and to present clearly the stages through which the movement of thought passes. Following in the footsteps of von Hofmann, the author recommends the student to master first the outline of each section which is prefixed to it in the Commentary, and thus gain a view of the course of thought; then work through at least twice the Greek text of the section treated, once comparing it with the commentator's translation and exegetical notes, again

¹*Die Unzulänglichkeit des theologischen Studiums der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1886.

²*Kurzegefasster Commentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten n. Neuen Testaments, etc.* herausgegeben von H. Strack und O. Zöckler. B. Neues Testament, Ite. Abth. Die Evangelien nach Matthäus, Marcus u. Lukas, von C. F. Nösgen, Nördlingen, 1886.

comparing it with the exposition given of the fundamental doctrines contained in it. This plan seeks to give the clear meaning of every word, and then to catch the whole movement of the author's thought as it passed through the passage under study.

Luthardt's Commentary on John¹ aims at the same method; and somewhat in this direction is Godet's Commentary on the Fourth Gospel, a third edition of which has just appeared,² and is a great improvement upon the second edition.

The Pauline Epistles.

The Pulpit Commentary³ embraces this year II. Corinthians, which is expounded by Farrar, the homiletical portion by Dr. Thomas, and various homilies added by different authors. Galatians is prepared by Huxtable; Ephesians, by Blaikie; Philippians, by B. A. Caffin; and Colossians by G. G. Findlay. English and Scotch learning thus blended may well lead us to look for, what one critic says he found, keen research along the psychological side.

Whether such subtle analysis of practical epistles to the churches is the best method, seems still questionable. Paul probably aimed at broader effects and more immediate results than many of his modern critics seem to think.

Godet gives a good example of a more natural analysis in some New Testament studies in *The Expositor*. In "Paul's Gospel to the Romans" he finds⁴ a summary of the Apostle's conception of the gospel as set forth during

¹English, Edinburgh, 1879.

²*Commentary on the Gospel of John*, Vol. I. From the third French edition, with Preface, Introduction and Notes, by T. Dwight, New York, 1886.

³London, 1885.

⁴*The Expositor*, April, 1886.

two years at Ephesus. Christology and eschatology are not overlooked, as is sometimes said. Christ's humanity appears, v. 15, in the parallel with Adam; His divinity is seen, viii. 3, 32; ix. 5; while the "last things" are sufficiently set forth, xiii. 11, 12.

Godet finds the Epistle to the Galatians group itself around three leading ideas:

(1.) The apostle of liberty, called and qualified, no less than the twelve, by Christ himself.

(2.) The doctrine of liberty, proclaimed by the Old Testament, no less than by the Gospel.

(3.) The life of liberty, the holiness of which is even more effectively secured by the law of love proceeding from the Holy Spirit than by the law of Moses.

This Epistle is thus the Act of Emancipation of the slaves of the law in all ages.

The passage, II. Corinthians, xi. 32, has been expounded historically so as to gain a most important date for the life of Paul. The Nabathæans held Damascus when Paul was there, and their rule has been supposed to have begun A. D. 37, either because the death of Tiberius in that year stopped Vitellius, who was on the march against Aretas, or because Caligula gave Damascus to that ruler about the same time. But Mommsen tells us¹ that the kings of Nabat ruled beyond Damascus, and this city was dependent on them, for it is now known that their rule here continued from about the time of Sulla on into the reign of Trajan; this rule, however, not excluding, as held by commentators, Roman sovereignty also. Hence, he says, the supposed short rule of the Nabathæans in Damascus must be given up as a means of fixing a supposed date

¹*Römische Geschichte*, Thl. 5, 1885; p. 477—note.

in Paul's life. The result is, we cannot tell when he was in Damascus.

A most sympathetic study of the Epistle to the Hebrews has been recently published by Westcott¹ in which he finds that the teaching of this Epistle may be summed up in the words: "Christ, the Fulfiller, *Christus consummator*." The Saviour, as heir of all things for His church, pours out blessings in this part of Scripture in a four-fold stream. We see (1), how "He has fulfilled the destiny of man in spite of the inroad of sin, and bore humanity to the throne of the Father; (2) how in the plenitude of royal majesty He appears before God for those whose nature He has taken to Himself; (3) how in Him we have present access to a spiritual society, in which earth and heaven, men and angels, are united in glorious fellowship; and (4) how He has given us for our daily support a covenant and a service, which transfigure the conditions of our conflict into sacraments of a higher order." This covenant relation is obscured by the faulty translation of the word *διαθήκη*, which a recent critic holds² should be translated everywhere in the New Testament by covenant. Even Heb. ix. 16-17 is no exception, for even there the usage of the LXX., of the New Testament, the course of the argument and the immediate context require it to be so rendered.

¹ *The Expositor*, Jan. Feb. Mar., 1886.

² T. Gardiner, in *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, Boston, 1885.

CHAPTER V.

NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

How clearly New Testament thought grows out of the Old Testament may be seen in the opening words of the Gospel narratives. Mark follows the last verses of Malachi, Matthew imitates the account of Abraham's life (Gen. xi.), Luke has his eyes on the beginning of I. Samuel, while John echoes the first chapter of Genesis in his Logos prologue.¹ The Psalms, Luke i. 42-45, 46-55, 68-79; xi. 29-32 are all sung to Old Testament melodies, and might well have stood in the Psalter of David. And yet they occupy a higher plane and give different prominence to old truths. They identify the Messiah with the Lord the Deliverer, and his Messianic work is apprehended as spiritual.

The teaching of John the Baptist forms a part of the introduction to New Testament theology. Hofmann (1877) in his work, just published from the MS. of his lectures (see above p. 103), says that Jesus was for John (1) the Angel of the Covenant, (2) the Lamb of God, and (3) the Son of God. His work was to make real the kingdom of God on earth. The condition of participation in that kingdom was submission to the baptism of repentance

¹Cf. Warfield, *Messianic Psalms of the New Testament*, in *The Expositor*, Oct. and Nov., 1885.

For the general teaching of the Bible see *A Layman's Study of the English Bible*, by F. Bowen, New York, 1885; *Nature in Scripture*, by E. C. Cummings, Portland, Me., 1885, a suggestive book; and *The Biblical Scheme of Nature and of Man*, by A. Mackennal, London, 1885, which puts New Testament theology in a popular form.

for the remission of sins. Those who remain impenitent He will destroy, for He is judge as well as Saviour of the world. That was the theology of the Baptist.

Turning to the more direct teaching of Christ, we may notice one or two studies in the Parables which the past year has given us. Dods has published an instructive work¹ covering the whole subject, besides special studies in *The Expositor*.² The "misunderstood parable" of the leaven is explained by Conder³ to refer to the penetrating, but not assimilating, property of leaven. If the leaven does its work well, a chemical process goes on in which the yeast perishes but leaves the heavy dough wholesome bread. That is the key to the parable. "The corruptible leaven perishing, but doing a work which outlasts it, is the means of satisfying hunger and sustaining life." The agency by which God carries on this work is frail man, whose work perishes, and is yet immortal, as Christ compared himself to a grain of wheat dying to bear much fruit.

Klöpper explains⁴ the new cloth on an old garment, and the new wine in old bottles, as follows: The old garment is the empirical Judaism of Christ's day; the new piece is the fasting and repentance which John's disciples sought to add to it in connection with the Messianic idea, in order to make the old Judaism right. Such a piecing out of Judaism, with teaching borrowed from Christ, would lead only to confusion and legality worse than before; hence Jesus declined fasting and the additions of the school of the Baptist.

¹*The Parables of Our Lord*, London, 1885. 2 vols.

²Jan. and July, 1885.

³*The Expositor*, June, 1886.

⁴*Studien und Kritiken*, 1885, H. iii.

The new wine is the mystery of the kingdom (Mark iv. 11 ; Matt. xiii. 11), which was not to be poured into the Judaism of John's day. This shows the positive side of the same truth, new bottles for new wine, new messengers for the new gospel ; not lawyers, but preachers of the free life principle, for to try and combine old Judaism with new Christianity would be ruin to both. We are thus led to what the gospel is, and what doctrines are involved in its full exhibition. The work of Hofmann, already referred to, carries a very wholesome atmosphere into present New Testament study, for he lays stress on the unity of the teaching of Christ and the Apostles. It is Christological throughout. Not only is Christ the central figure, but his words contain the central doctrines of our holy religion. As well in soteriology as in ethics the fundamentals are all here. Hofmann shows how Jesus sets forth his expiatory death as clearly as Paul afterward did. The Son of Man gave his life a ransom for many, and the Lord's Supper sets forth this great truth by a perpetual sacrament. It is atonement by blood ; it is blood of the new covenant ; it is blood which expiates sin and purchases the New Testament Church (Matt., xxvi. 28). Hofmann, throughout his book ; opposes the modern German method where it too sharply distinguishes the doctrinal apprehension of different New Testament writers. He, accordingly, connects I. Peter with the Epistle to the Ephesians, while II. Peter is associated in teaching with the Pastoral Epistles, in which " a deterioration of Christianity into fruitless exegetical learning and sectarian burdening of Christianity " is opposed. The practical interests which Paul ever had in view make the great question with him always: A sound or an unsound system of religion? His problem

was, how to build practical Christianity upon the great evangelical doctrines in opposition to all vain learning and divisive spirits. Such teaching from a scholar of so wide learning and influence is worthy of consideration in these days when Paul is sometimes nearly analyzed to death.

Quite in harmony with the general position of Hofmann is the work of Franke on the Gospel of John and its theological relation to the Old Testament.¹ The relation of John to the Old Testament people is not anti-Judaistic, though he follows a certain tendency in showing how the Jews, by rejecting Christ, excluded themselves from blessing, and by wilful blindness made themselves representatives of the world hostile to God. This is the solution of *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, so often appealed to.

John here follows Isaiah, and the ideas "People of God," and "People of the Jews," become widely distinct, as already hinted at by the prophet. John's faith in the Old Testament Revelation is the same as that of the Synoptists, and everywhere recognizes the inner connection of both Revelations and their vital unity. The Tübingen school is shown to be wrong in identifying Judaism with the Old Testament religion. John held that "faith in the Scriptures and faith in Christ, the understanding of the Scriptures, and a perception of the ways of God for the salvation of the world," develop together and complete each other. In reference to his teaching on, (1), God and the world, (2), Eschatology, and, (3), the Messianic faith, Franke shows conclusively² that John, like the Synoptists, bases his view upon the fundamental views of the Old Testament held by all Apostolic teachers. It

¹ *Das Alte Testament bei Johannes*, Göttingen, 1885.

² Cf. Riehm's review in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1885, H. iii.

is shown that in every point of the Logos teaching in which Philo leaves Old Testament ground, John holds true to the Scriptures. It is especially interesting to see that the Fourth Gospel, while setting forth the doctrine of life, still gives us all the essential elements of New Testament eschatology. We are shown also how the peculiar teachings of John — his view of salvation, vision of God in Christ, covenant sacrifice and expiation, the new commandment, eternal life through communion with God, and the new church — are all rooted in the Old Testament. Franke sums up the matter thus: "The writings of John are a witness to this, that already toward the end of the first century it was the Church, planted on Hellenistic-heathen soil, to which the center of the new Church had been transferred. And the man who speaks in them went unreservedly the way along which God was leading the Church. But the gospel of eternal life for every man who believes testifies at every point to this, that it was the Old Testament in whose light John first saw Jesus, and, following its guiding hand, he developed his theology, in which the thought of present salvation in Christ finds its highest New Testament expression."

The heart of the Christian life is faith; we may well, therefore, close our notes on New Testament Theology by referring to the first exhaustive treatment of the genesis and growth of the word and doctrine of faith.¹

The rise of this principle can be traced, we are told, only in the events which produced the New Testament Church, for faith appears here in life and action as the historic

¹*Der Glaube im Neuen Testament.* Eine von der Haager Gesellschaft zur Vertheidigung der christlichen Religion gekrönte Preisschrift, von A. Schlatter, Leiden, 1885.

basis of the new religion of Christ. What then, is faith in the New Testament? The term employed here, πιστεύειν goes back to the Old Testament *heemin be Jehovah*, to be strong in the Lord, or on the Lord, in which the ideas of faithfulness, truth, confidence in heart and life are all embraced. In Aramaic, the Hebrew term was carried over unchanged, and Aramaic words added to it whose central idea was hope, firm expectation. There was need, however, of a word to designate faith substantively and this appeared in *emunah*, which occurs to express faith in *Pirke Aboth* and elsewhere, being limited with other terms to faithfulness in action. In the synagogue the change took place to the conception of inner faithfulness or faith, and meant that state of heart which clung to the law of Jehovah with all one's powers; for Israel must trust in God if it was to be true to Him. Such faith was necessary not only to keep the law but also to receive instruction, hence it was emphasized in the conversion of Gentiles to Judaism. But the law was hard to keep, therefore faith came to be looked upon as itself a meritorious thing, a supplement to the deeds of the law — a very sad outlook for the weary and heavy laden seeking rest! The word *πίστις* starts from the idea of binding, as the Hebrew term springs from the thought of bearing or holding. It was used in Greek judicial language to describe means of proof, as witnesses, oath, arguments. The philosophers used it to mean assent of the mind to a thought or argument, though it might be but an opinion and not real knowledge, hence the contrast between *πίστις* and *γνώσις*. The word was also used to signify belief in religious things, as myths, or to set forth trust in God, and finally to indicate confidence of man in man, as electors in a repre-

sentative. The LXX. uses *πίστις* for the Hebrew words referred to; it also employs *ἀλήθεια* to bring out the further element in *emeth*. Philo finds faith to mean man's trust in himself, his trust in God, and faithfulness to both. It unites man to God, and this is its highest value; it is not, however, the beginning of the virtuous life, but rather its end, the realization of hope. He finds the way to God in knowledge and subjection of the passions. The faith which Jesus sets forth starts from loyalty to the law, which he sums up in uprightness, goodness and faithfulness. Such loyalty will lead to repentance. The faith of the Synoptists moves in Old Testament and Aramaic limits, not even the idea of hope being joined to faith in them. It is absolute trust in God as God and as Father; it overcomes care and sorrow; it saves from all trouble; it is the only condition of receiving help from Christ and God. Repentance and faith are the two ideas prominent in the Synoptists. Then, love flows from faith, because beneficence springs from faithfulness. Faith thus has repentance beneath it and love over it.

The Fourth Gospel presents the contrast of believe and not believe, and its thought is thoroughly Aramaic. *πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* is just the phrase of the synagogue. The idea of hope is not added, but truth is made prominent. Faith is the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah, with all the blessed expectation connected with Him. It is essential to all forms of faith that the relation of Jesus to God be known and assented to. The crucifixion and resurrection are specially mentioned in connection with faith as cases of peculiar trial. The genesis of faith is the new birth, which decides what man will love, and love decides what man will do — accept the offered

light, or reject it. So faith is the fruit of a preceding moral relation to God. The contents of faith then passes into the affirmations of knowledge. Faith is also one with love because it springs from a heart made one with God.

The teaching of Jesus on faith, according to all the Evangelists, is then summed up thus: (1.) He has, because of faith, forgiven all sins of the believer. (2.) He has promised to faith a boundless divine gift so that because of his faith the believer receives all things which are given by God to man. (3.) He has, therefore, not left faith on the level of a conditional expectation, but assured it an unbroken certainty, which knows the divine gift as present and granted the believer. (4.) He demands this unconditional confidence in reference to his own work, and treats his own public life as sufficient ground for such confidence. (5.) He has made prominent in his work especially miracles as proper motives to faith, so far as they show his limitless helping power, though he rejects the demand for a sign as proving his claims. (6.) He traces refusal to believe to an evil state of the will, which he considers a matter of guilt. (7.) He finds the origin of faith in the inner work of God in man. The faith here taught was in an important sense an inheritance of the best teaching of the synagogues; it developed in the Apostolic Church where the brotherhood were knit together as "believers" and "saints"; to persecute the Church was to "destroy the faith"; to be acquainted with a church was to "know their faith"; thus through all controversy the common faith in Christ was the meeting place of Christian hearts, and through all blessed activity the course of work has been through faith that works by love and purifies the heart; through faith that overcomes the world; through faith that leads to the vision of God.

HISTORIC THEOLOGY.

THE MOST RECENT STUDIES IN
CHURCH HISTORY,
WITH SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT RESULTS.

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CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY CHURCH.

I. THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE.

AN early Christian apologist spoke of the striking fact that the Church of Christ and the Roman Empire rose together. The divine Augustus and the Son of God appealed to their followers of the same generation as incarnate deity. The universal Roman dominion and the early Catholic Church felt instinctively that they were rivals for the rule of the world. We no longer look at those divine Cæsars, with their altars and armies, their high-priesthood and their Godlike assumption of absolute control of the human race, as Antichrist and a satanic caricature of the Kingdom of God; and yet there is a strange fascination in the study of Pagan Imperial Rome as an introduction to Christian Imperial Rome, which makes us feel, with good Eusebius, that there was certainly here a far-reaching evangelical preparation, a great material outline to be filled with a great spiritual reality. Not a few breaks in this outline have been filled by a recent work of Mommsen,¹ in which he gives much that is valuable for the church historian.

¹*Römische Geschichte*, Bd. V., Die Provinzen von Cäsar bis Diocletian, Berlin, 1885.

He shows how and how far the Eastern provinces became Greek, and the Western provinces Latin, letting us see how each was open to the Greek and Latin Churches. In Moesia, for example, the Latin and Greek languages met, and just here was the border land of strife between the Patriarch of Rome and the Patriarch of Constantinople. Spain was the first province out of Italy to become romanized; and during the Empire, this Latinizing went on faster here than anywhere else, earlier and faster even than in Africa. No province was so thoroughly Roman in religion as Spain. South Gaul became Roman under the Republic, though it was not romanized so fast. Lyons and Nyon, the latter a Roman colony, were the only Latin towns in Gaul, A. U. C. 711. Lyons was the Roman center for Gaul. In North Gaul the Celtic division by counties was retained, and these had a government of their own, a sort of parliament representing sixty such counties. The Latin language, however, was pressed upon the people; though the Celtic religion flourished into the time of the emperors. In Britain the Celtic language had given way to the Latin before the Saxons came; it was Rome that gave up Britain, not Britain that shook off Rome. In Asia Minor the Greeks and Celts were the only important races in the time of the Empire. Learning, which had fallen into decay, was much revived here under the emperors, and flourished as in no other part of the empire. It took the form of speaking rather than writing, and had its seat in the schools of the sophists. When Asia Minor became Christian, the culture and commercial activity of its people continued, and even influenced the West for good. Christian Syrians of the fourth and fifth centuries were scattered as merchants through all the West; Lyons, Paris, Treves and other

French and German cities were familiar with these Orientals from Tyre, Apameia, and Antioch. The wealth and wide influence of these Syrian Christians were felt until they were crushed by Mohammedanism.

Of this whole period, Mommsen says: "The great thing in these centuries is this, that the work which was laid out of spreading everywhere the Latin-Greek civilization in the form of a fully carried-out civil-parish constitution, the gradual bringing of the barbarian, or other foreign elements, into this circle — a work which, in its very nature, required centuries of constant activity and quiet self-development — that great work now found a long period of peace on land and sea for its prosecution." All this was laying a foundation for the work of the Church.

Of the persecutions, he says that a full knowledge of Roman rule shows that they were constant, as the attacks upon the pirates were, only at times more severe, being intensified by command of the ruler. This view is being now accepted by church historians also. The emperors were not so bad as they are usually painted. Duruy holds¹ that while it is certain that the Christians suffered wrongs and injustice, it is equally certain that in more than one respect they had the legal probability against them. The emperor's great task was to preserve the unity of his vast dominions, and Christian activity was a serious opposition to his best plans. Allard shows,² against the school of Gibbon, recently represented by Havet and Aubé, that the number of martyrs was not small; but then falls himself into the antiquated view, which regards the rights of

¹*Histoire des Romains*, Vol. VII., Paris, 1885.

²*Histoire des Persecutions pendant les deux premiers siècles d'après les documents archéologiques*, Paris, 1885.

the State to defend itself against the new religion as groundless, and considers the best of the emperors as moved by nothing higher than superstition, brutality, tyranny and priestcraft, in opposing Christianity. If we turn to the life of a man like Tertullian, we will see that the relations of Christians to their fellow-citizens and the government, even during persecution, were not so strained as is often supposed. Mommsen remarks rightly that we must not judge of the moral condition of the empire by such cities as Rome and Corinth. The zealous Tertullian, born about 150, died about 230 A.D.,¹ was patriotic, and in defending his Punic blood, showed how Christianity had spread among the Provincial subjects of Rome, while the proud rulers were long unconverted, because they did not like the new religion which leveled distinctions among men.² He preached loyalty to the powers that be, as did Paul. He also employed the culture of his time more than is commonly stated. He used the favored Roman postal system; he visited the public baths; he was familiar with every phase of Pagan life, and could glibly call Callixtus "a rope-dancer of chastity." His attitude toward slavery shows that, while heathen ethics in a sense preceded Christianity in teaching human brotherhood, the gospel first, as Renan puts it (Márc-Aurèle, p. 609), "suppressed slavery by giving a moral importance to the slave." Tertullian helped train slaves like Blandina, whose heroism killed slavery. He had slaves himself, and expected them to obey. To punish them was not strange, for they must, he said, be of one mind with their master.

¹ *Tertullian's Geburtsjahr*, von E. Nöldechen in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1886, H. II.

² *Tertullian als Mensch und als Bürger*, von Nöldechen, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1885, H. V.

He lays stress on the equality of all Christians before God, but the application of this principle was just beginning. Only two references to freeing slaves occur in church literature of the first two centuries. Tertullian was not very favorable to emancipation, standing rather below the level of church feeling in this matter. While our views are thus modified in some respects in favor of the Roman government, and better relations of Christians to their heathen surroundings, we are led by recent study to lay more stress than is usually done upon the powerful antagonism of the Roman religion itself. It is a mistaken view, as often set forth, that Christianity grew in the empire in the presence of a dead and decaying heathenism. There was decline in Paganism, but there were also periods of great restoration. One of these appeared under the Severi, when the old cults were revived, the worship of genii renewed under Neo-Platonic influences, and the oriental religious usages introduced with Mithras as the central deity. Three great revivals took place under three different emperors: the Neo-Pythagorean, led by Philostratus, who presented Apollonius of Tyana as a demi-god and rival of Jesus; the Semitic sun worship of Helio-gabalus, which sought to form a vast eclectic cult, with the emperor as high priest; and the philosophic form of this same tendency, the pantheistic syncretism of Alexander Severus.¹

Among the Greeks there was a like revival, but of the Hellenic religion and of foreign cults.² The loss of national liberty forced the nobler minds of Greece into social, moral and religious activity. Such pagan revivals

¹ Cf. *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Par J. Réville, Paris, 1885; also *Marius the Epicurean*, by W. Pater, London, 1885.

² Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, Bd. v. 1885, p. 257.

were powerful hindrances to the spread of Christianity, and the triumph of the cross is not to be described as if won over an effete heathenism. On the other hand it must be noticed that when these efforts at pagan restoration were found unavailing, their very excellence made them a stepping-stone to the all-sufficient religion. Pessimism, syncretism, tolerance, stoicism, moral culture — all these led the disciples of Cicero, Seneca and Porphyry to turn with new-born hope to the gospel of Christ. In an important sense, too, the Church became heir of this syncretistic Græco-Roman wisdom. Reville says that Catholic Christianity took shape in the period between Marcus Aurelius and Decius, and that it "was born of pagan syncretism and primitive Christianity." The religion of Christ, however, as the unique faith, did not disappear in such eclecticism, but, while using all that was valuable in heathen culture, never lost its own high consciousness of being the Kingdom of God upon earth.

Mommsen gives an honorable place to Africa in this development. He thinks later Christianity arose from a union of Hellenism and Orientalism, and became a world religion in North Africa, where Latin life lacked classic dignity, and Greek geniality. Heathen Africa produced no great writers, but Christian Africa gave the Church leaders in thought, who took the first place; for that Christianity which arose in Syria became in Africa a universal religion. Here the Bible was translated into popular Latin for the Latin world, as it was translated in Egypt into Greek for the Greek world. When North Africa took the lead in this movement, the Roman Church was still under Greek influence.

Early Christianity did not destroy the ancient civiliza-

tion, but combined with the working forces in that civilization to transform Pagan Rome into Catholic Rome. In this process the Church received as well as gave; for it must be admitted that Christianity became somewhat paganized while Paganism was becoming christianized, though the true faith always kept its vast superiority in the assimilation. This early Catholic Church, built up by syncretistic reform in heathenism and the teachings of the gospel, reached the full consummation of its union development in the fourth century.

In modern times these separate elements have again come to consciousness in the Renaissance, and the Reformation, through the study of which we can the better distinguish the classic culture and the primitive Christianity which met in early Catholicism.¹

II. HISTORY OF DOCTRINE.

The most important recent work on this subject is Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*.² The great question raised by Baur: How did the Primitive Church become the early Catholic Church, as we find it at the end of the second century, closing its Canon, opposing heretics and attaining full consciousness of organic unity, was answered by him with the synthesis of the Petrine and Pauline schools of doctrine in a Johannine, which ended in the Universal Church idea. Ritschl overthrew this theory,

¹For some mild naturalistic Rationalism on the origin of Christianity, cf. *A Study of Primitive Christianity*, by L. G. Janes, Boston, 1885; and, for an orthodox but uncritical book on the same subject, see *The First Century of Christianity*, by H. Cox, London, 1886.

²*Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, Bd. i. Freiburg I. B., 1886.

For a conservative, safe work, written, however, in the antiquated framework of Hagenbach, cf. *History of Christian Doctrine*, by H. C. Sheldon, New York, 1886.

and taught that the early Catholic Church arose as a moral deterioration of Christianity, growing up on heathen soil. Here Harnack takes up the problem, and seeks to show how out of the undogmatic Christianity of the first century the organized, dogmatic Christianity of the middle of the third century took its rise. The prevalent view is that the creed of the present Church is a development, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, of the divine truth, which lay always in germ and potency in the Scriptures. The seed of every doctrine now taught may be found in the Bible. Harnack pronounces this view wrong, and says that the teachings of the Bible along any line of legitimate development would never have produced the present creed of the Church. That result is the product of a union of early Christianity with the Greek philosophy and culture which filled the Roman world in the second and third centuries. Our present confession of faith is the fruit of a hellenizing or secularizing of Christianity. This is in the line of Ritschl's theory, which is carried out with great wealth of application. To get the simple, primitive belief of the Apostolic Fathers and the *Διδαχὴ* we have, according to this view, to subtract from our creeds the elements borrowed from heathen systems. The Church in those days, we are told, believed in God, in Jesus as the Messiah, and His speedy return, laid great stress upon the morality of the Sermon on the Mount, and had no fixed or compulsory articles of faith. This "enthusiastic" Christianity was predominately ethical and eschatological, and ceased in the second half of the second century.¹ But even at that early period the idea of God, the views of ethics and allegorical exegesis, show Greek influence. It was the early

¹Cf. Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1885, p. 104.

Apologists, however, who introduced the marked transition. They were converted philosophers, and remained such after their conversion. Especially through their identifying the Logos of John's Gospel with the Logos of Greek philosophy — the very heart of Greek speculation — was this Hellenistic drift hastened. These philosophers first used *θεολογία* and *δόγμα* in the technical sense, and they first formulated Christian doctrines as "truths of reason revealed in Scripture through the prophets, which in their unity set forth divine wisdom, and to recognize which is the source of virtue and eternal life." In this revealed philosophy they found three chief doctrines, (1), that there is one Spiritual Most High God, who is Lord and Father of the world, (2), that He requires a holy life, and (3), that He will hold a final judgment to reward the good with immortality, and the evil with death. We must remember, however, that the Apologists wrote for non-Christian readers — Jews and heathen — and that had they written for Christian edification their theological statements might have taken quite a different form. Zahn finds¹ an illustration of this in a fragment of a lost work of Justin Martyr, in which the Apologist argues from 1 Cor. xv. 50, referring it to Paul, and expounding it to teach that "the Kingdom of God being eternal life cannot be inherited by the body, but the body by life;" the Kingdom takes possession of the flesh, and that is what is meant by death being swallowed up in victory.

Harnack goes on to say that the Gnostics tried to hellenize church thought by violent transformation, and shows how that method was rejected, though he holds the same result was reached through long centuries, which the Gnos-

¹*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1885; Bd. viii. H. I.

tics tried to attain in one generation. "The Gnostics were the theologians of the first century. They first changed Christianity into a system of doctrines; they first systematically worked over tradition; they undertook to present Christianity as the absolute religion, and as identical with the results of religious philosophy, for which they sought the support of Revelation." They sought to win Christianity for Greek culture, and Greek culture for Christianity; hence they rejected the Old Testament to facilitate the union and make it possible to assert the absoluteness of Christianity. Out of Gnosticism came philosophy, Biblical science, church societies, theological schools, mysteries, then, sacred formulæ, superstition, and all sorts of profane literature, only gradually, into the use of the Church.

We are assured that during this early period, Pauline theology formed no school in the Church, and the doctrines of sin, total depravity, sacrificial atonement, divine sovereignty, election unto life, and justification by faith were little heard of. About all that the general Christian consciousness took from Paul, we are told, was his idea of a gospel for all men. About the only Paulinist we hear of is Marcion.

Thus it is reaffirmed that dogmatic theology, with its divisions and terminology, came from Greek philosophy added to the early Christian faith. Through the Alexandrian school, the Logos christology became an article of faith, belief and theology became blended, Christianity became a theological system, and the Church a theological-philosophical school.

In this change the Old Testament, the theocratic and the Messianic idea were succeeded by the doctrine of the

Church and immortality, while the Messiah appeared as a divine teacher and God incarnate.

We follow Harnack further. He tells us that the baptismal confession of Father, Son and Spirit was elevated, as early as A. D. 150, into an apostolic article of faith, and started from the Roman church. "The creation of the New Testament gave at once a wide field for theological growth, and the early Fathers halt between the primitive short creed and the endless teaching of the New Testament. Single doctrines appear in a loose way around the baptismal confession, but no system took shape till Clement of Alexandria brought the Gnostic idea of theology into the service of the church. As we have noticed, the first great doctrine thus reached and embodied in the creed was that of supernatural christology." The more external side of the development Harnack sets forth thus: Apostolic-Catholic theology was not a continuation of biblical theology of the New Testament. The heathen converts were led by certain general views of the gospel, given in the Old Testament as referring to Christ, and received in the Greek spirit. The New Testament was not for a long time used as the source of doctrine. Hellenistic Judaism was the stepping-stone by which the gospel passed from the Jews to the Greeks; and "the great multitude of the earliest heathen converts became Christians because they recognized in the gospel the glad tidings of those good things and obligations which they had already sought in the blending of Judaism and Hellenism." From this point of view only, we are assured, can the origin of the Catholic Church and doctrine be understood; and further, that the meeting place of all Christians must be on this early faith, and not on the later theology; on this belief in Christ,

not on creeds about Him; on this primitive life. and not the subsequent ecclesiasticism.

Conservative critics object to this apprehension of early doctrines, as they object to Ritschl's position, because it tears to pieces the creed of the Church by an extreme rejection of what are called its philosophic elements. Luthardt says¹ such a view overlooks the *regula fidei*, the commandments, and the general belief of the early Church; it means, further, that the divinity of Christ, the trinity, and such doctrines do not belong to primitive Christianity, and are not taught in the Scriptures.

Among the most important sources of post-Apostolic teaching are the Epistles of Ignatius. These have just received most exhaustive treatment by Lightfoot in the second volume of his *Apostolic Fathers*,² a work which Harnack calls "the most learned and careful Patristic monograph of the nineteenth century."³ The view of Zahn, who accepts the shorter Greek recension of seven epistles as genuine, is adopted by Lightfoot, and supported by arguments which Harnack considers final. The Epistle of Polycarp is also genuine, though Harnack dates it not earlier than A. D. 130, when the Ignatian Epistles also were written, against Lightfoot, who dates them all between 110 and 118 A. D. Hilgenfeld⁴ will accept the Epistle of Polycarp only when the interpolations are removed. These are chapters iii. v. 20; vii. 12-20; ix.; xiii., with some other short passages, all of which he thinks were added later in support of the Epistles of Ignatius.

¹ *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1886, No. 7.

² Part II. St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, London, 1885.

³ *The Expositor*, Dec. 1885.

⁴ *Der Brief des Polycarpus an die Philipper*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1886, H. ii.

The teaching of Ignatius, his *κήρυγμα*, respecting Christ, Harnack thinks would run as follows: "We believe in Jesus Christ, our Lord, who was according to the flesh of the seed of David but of the Holy Ghost, born of Mary (other readings, of a virgin), baptized by John, suffered and risen from the dead under Pontius Pilate." He does not identify Judaists and Gnostics and oppose Judaistic docetics (Lightfoot), but where he refers to docetics (Epp. to Eph., Trall. and Smyr.) he means not the earliest form of Christian gnosticism, the Judaic, but the usual Gentile form; and where he mentions Judaistic views (Epp. to Magn. and Philad.) he warns against the Ebionistic danger (Harnack).

The idea of prophetic gifts passing from the Jews to the Christians, after John the Baptist is a favorite thought of the early Fathers. The passage on which it is based (Matt. xi. 13; Luke xvi. 16) runs like a "winged word" through the writings of Tertullian,¹ where its use almost marks his growth toward Montanism. We find him first regarding prophecy as sealed and the fulfillment complete, the Bible canon is full and no new books were to be added; the regular clergy were there and inspired ones besides the bishops were rather to be silent and learn. Then comes transition: he opposes Marcion, and holds that Christianity and Judaism are bound together; he next becomes anti-ecclesiastical, and at last a Montanist. In harmony with this drift he taught that Adam was a prophet, and in prophetic vision named the animals and his children. That was also the prevalent view till Tatian shocked the

¹Cf. *Ein geflügeltes Wort bei Tertullian*, von E. Nöldechen in *Zeitschrift f. wissen. Theol.*, 1885, H. iii.

Church by teaching that Adam was a sinner who could not be saved.¹

Quite in opposition to this Montanistic tendency, which sought to return to the primitive type of Christianity, was the Alexandrian movement, which aimed at reconciling the gospel and the philosophy of the third century. Augustine gave the death blow to this Alexandrian theology in the Western Church, and emphasized "churchliness," authoritative orthodoxy, sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism, just the points, which, exaggerated, give the four cardinal errors of Catholicism. A recent writer tells us,² however, that the drift in our day is from Augustine to Origen as a theologian, and that the great Alexandrian anticipated much that we have heard in Macleod Campbell's theology, Dean Stanley's free ecclesiastical polity, and Herbert Spencer's philosophy. The circumstances being similar, Origen, like modern apologists, laid stress on culture in the service of the gospel, for all great thinking would bear witness to God; he emphasized knowledge in Christianity, and in his attempt to reconcile thought and faith went far beyond the English apologists of the eighteenth century. He met agnosticism by admitting that God can be known only mediately, through the Logos; creation was eternal and a result of endless evolution, of which the fall and history of man were part; free human will is necessary and indestructible, hence universal restoration was allowed; the Fatherhood of God was also made prominent. This Alexandrian theology has been much praised by some advocates of what is called the New Theology, in America.

¹See Nöldechen, *Die Lehre vom ersten Menschen bei den christlichen Lehrern des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, in *Zft. f. wissen. Theol.*, 1885, H. iv.

² *The Alexandrian Type of Christianity*, by W. F. Adeny, in *The British Quarterly Review*, April, 1885.

It was superior to Latin teaching; it was more humane; it was even much more biblical. But Harnack's book strikes a weak spot in this view, by arguing that the theology of Alexandria got all its peculiar wisdom from Pagan philosophy, and not from the Scriptures.

A fine example of a free Greek theologian was Apollinarios of Laodicia, about whom Dräseke continues to instruct us.¹

He shows that the two letters written to Basil and the two received from him are genuine. They were written about A. D. 361-2, and in them Apollinarios speaks as on the ground of the Nicene creed, and is in friendly intercourse with Basil. Three further passages, found in a work by Nemeseos, enlarge our knowledge of the great Laodicean.²

The first passage, on the nature of man, says: "Plotinus holds that the soul and mind are different, thinking that man consists of three things, body, soul and mind. Such teachings Apollinarios, who is bishop of Laodicia, also follows; for laying this foundation of his own view, he built up the rest according to his peculiar doctrine." That Plotinus influenced Apollinarios in this respect we learn first through Nemeseos. A second quotation, speaking of the origin of the soul, runs: "Apollinarios thought that souls are begotten by souls, just as bodies by bodies; for the soul was sent by succession from the first man into all those who descended from him, just as there was a bodily succession. Neither, he says, are souls stored away anywhere, neither are they created now, for those saying

¹ Cf. *Current Discussions*, 1885, p. 135, and *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. viii. H. 1, 1885.

² See *Apollinarios in den Anführingen des Nemeseos*, von Dräseke in *Zft. f. wissen, Theol.* 1886, H. 1.

this would make God a co-worker with adulterers, for children are begotten by such. Besides it would make that false which says: "God ceased from all the works which He began to do," if he were still framing souls. He thus rejects the preëxistence theory of Plato, the creation theory of the Latin fathers, and appears as a full defender of traducianism. On the creation of the world the passage is: "Those who explain the teaching of the Hebrews differ about heaven and earth. Almost all say that heaven and earth were made out of no previously-existing matter, for Moses says, 'In the beginning,' etc.; but Apollinarios thinks God made the heaven and the earth from the abyss; for Moses does not mention the abyss as existent at the creation of the world; but in Job it is said, "who made the abyss;" from this, therefore, as from material, he thinks all things were made. This was not without origin, but was produced before all bodily things, laid down as a foundation by the Creator, for the support of all else. The name abyss indicates the boundless extent of matter."

The spirit of order and conservatism, which the Latin Church inherits from the Roman Empire, made it more traditional and orthodox than the Greek Church; hence Greeks persecuted for their orthodoxy looked naturally to Rome for sympathy and aid. Mommsen has recently published¹ from MS. sources a correct text of the appeals made by Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, and Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, to Pope Leo, against their condemnation in the Eutychian controversy. These letters are important in reference to the question of papal

¹In *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsch Geschichtskunde*, Bd. xi. H. II. 1886.

supremacy. They address Leo as "most religious and blessed father and archbishop." They describe the council of Ephesus, and Flavian says when Dioscorus declared him deposed he appealed "to the throne of the Apostolic see of Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and to the general blessed synod which is under your Holiness;" whereupon the mob cast him out. Eusebuis says: "I flee to thee as my only helper next to God." He beseeches Leo to pronounce his unjust condemnation void, and asks to be restored to his see by letters from the pope. The terms *sanctitas*, *beatitudo*, *Apostolicus*, etc., applied to Leo in these letters, lose their high pretensions when we learn that such words were addressed to every bishop in the West before the time of Gregory I., and even Gregory writes to Leander of Seville as *Sanctitas vestra*.¹

Arianism has been treated by Scott in his *Life of Ulfilas*.² Its history among the Goths seems to show the inability of religion without a divine Saviour to develop historically. The story of the attempt in those early Germanic churches tells not only of religious ruin, but of its "fatal effect upon the political development of the people." The Gothic churches failed because their creed was essentially faulty, their organization was weak, their clergy dependent on the court. They had no men of great ability save Ulfilas, and the Catholic Church opposed them in her might.

The closing years of Arianism in Spain are receiving fresh illustration from the studies of Görres.³ The

¹Cf. *Leander von Sevilla*, von Görres, in *Zft. f. wiss. Theol.* 1886, H. I.

²*Ulfilas, Apostle of the Goths, together with an account of the Gothic Churches and Their Decline*, Cambridge, 1885.

³Cf. *Leovigild, König der Westgothen in Spanien u. Septimanien, der letzte Arianerkönig*, in *Fahr. bb. für Prot. Theologie*, 1886, H. I.

Byzantine power had fixed roots in south Spain in the sixth century and used the conflict between the orthodox Spaniards and the Arian Goths to extend its influence. Leovigild sought to make the Visigoths rulers of all Spain, and this great warrior realized much of what he aimed at. He was tolerant of the Catholics till his son and his French daughter-in-law, guided by Leander of Seville, kindled civil war in behalf of orthodoxy; he then determined to make Arianism the creed of Spain, and adopted a policy like that of the emperor Julian. The usual statement, that he was a violent persecutor, Görres pronounces incorrect. Leovigild crushed the rebellion but could not destroy the Catholic faith. Under his son Recared all Spain returned to the Athanasian creed.

III. CHURCH CONSTITUTION.

The constitution of the early Church has been a prominent subject of inquiry during the past year. The underlying question, Does the New Testament teach a regular, obligatory system of church government, and if so, what is it? is no longer regarded as settled. The drift is rather toward the position, that we find in Scripture a simple, undeveloped order of things, out of which, in a way not wrong, but in some senses healthy, the future more complicated church constitution arose. Morris says:¹ "Presbyterianism, *jure divino*—a system directly prescribed and enjoined as to details in the New Testament—can no more be proven than a *jure divino* Prelacy or Independency." Cunningham goes further,² and under the law of

¹*Ecclesiology*, New York, 1885, p. 139.

²*The Growth of the Church in Its Organisation and Institutions*, London, 1886; Cf. also, *The Christian Church in Relation to Human Experience*, by Thos. Dykes, a Scotch broad churchman, Glasgow, 1885.

development teaches that "we start from a church with a grand faith and noble aspirations, but rudimentary, unorganized, incomplete, and mark with wonder the growth of its organisation and institutes." This is declared to be nearly the reverse of old-fashioned church history, which used to begin with a perfect Apostolic Church and trace its decadence through succeeding ages. The stages noted in this development are Individualism, Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, Episcopalianism and Papalism. At first, he says, the Apostolic Church had no officers. The seven deacons were chosen for a case of emergency; but there was "no other *jus divinum* attached to the office of the diaconate than this — that where deacons are wanted they ought to be created, and where they are not wanted they ought to be let alone." Cunningham thinks bishops arose from those presbyters who were apt to teach. The presbyter came from the Synagogue, the deacon had his rise in the Church of Jerusalem. He shows that the last support of the *jus divinum*, the claim that bishops are successors of the Apostles, is groundless, for Paul was no more a bishop than Columba was. Such reasoning would make Apostolic succession come through a Presbyterian line, for all scholars of authority admit that the post-apostolic bishops were presbyters. Besides, bishops and Apostles existed side by side, and so the one could not succeed the other in office. The *Διδαχή* supports other authorities in making Apostles and bishops totally different men, the former being simply great missionaries, and their successors being the true preachers of every age.

Canon Liddon seeks to find¹ the first bishops in "certain

¹Sermon, *A Father in Christ*, 1885.

men," vaguely referred to by Clement of Rome,¹ while he argues for the divine right of Episcopacy and organization as part of the essence of a church. Hatch replies² that two improbable assumptions underlie this position, (1) that Christ founded a visible society, and (2) that he intended such a society to have a single form of organization. Until these points are settled, appeals to early Fathers are useless; for if Christians have a free right of association in the name of Christ, and if the usage of Apostolic times is not binding for all times, questions about Presbyterian or Episcopalian are matters of mere antiquarianism. Liddon thinks modern bishops are successors, not of those called bishops in the New Testament, but of a class of ministers represented by Timothy and Titus; they inherited the Apostolic-Episcopal functions, and not the Apostles heard of in the second century. Hatch says that this also rests on the unproven assumptions that the office held by Titus and Timothy was permanent, and that it carried with it plenary Apostolic power.³ Cunningham argues in the same direction, and holds with Lightfoot that the bishop is just the chairman of the original presbytery, developed into a permanent moderator with the Greek name of ἐπίσκοπος. The polity of the Church of Scotland is, he says, a perfect fac-simile of the Ignatian Episcopacy, in which the presbyter-bishop, or minister, is theoretically on a level with the elders, though really superior to them. Hedge thinks the Moravian brethren preserve best the system of the first disciples.⁴

¹ *Epist. C.* 44.

² *The Contemporary Review*, June, 1885.

³ Cf. on the other side, *The Apostolic Succession*, in *The Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1885.

⁴ *Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians*, in *The Unitarian Review*, Jan. 1886.

Monarchical Episcopacy cannot be proven without the aid of Ignatius, as already developed under Trajan and Hadrian. But even Ignatius does not speak of bishops as successors of the Apostles. They were for him local officers in the local church. Harnack holds¹ that the Apostolic view of Irenæus lacks earlier support, and says that Lightfoot transfers the theory of monarchical bishops from Irenæus to Polycarp and Ignatius, who were local congregational bishops. He concludes the discussion thus: "It must be conceded to the Episcopalian that there were already *ἐπίσκοποι* in the Apostolic age, and that not every *πρεσβύτερος* was an *ἐπίσκοπος*. But on the other hand it can be shown that the monarchical constitution of the churches cannot be traced to the Apostles."

Kühl has discussed this whole question with reference to the Pastoral Epistles,² and derives the bishop of the early Church as follows: The primitive Church regarded itself as a house of God, with God as the master, but represented on earth by the bishop, the "overseer." This conception came from heathen family life, in which slaves were under one or more *ἐπισκόπους*. He shows also that the Christian presbytery did not come from the Jewish presbytery, opposing Hatch, whose contribution to the subject he finds thus summed up by Harnack: He has shown that the "later fixed constitution of the churches was a combination of two different organizations, which had arisen after the analogy of municipal arrangements. So far as the congregation formed a system of leaders and followers, there arose naturally the distinction of presbyters on the one side and laity on the other. So

¹ *The Expositor*, Jan. 1886.

² *Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoral-briefen*, Berlin, 1885.

far as it presented an active band of brothers, there appeared as officials, bishops and deacons. The former office, of presbyter, was external, legal, resting on no special graces; the latter office was the particular spiritual office, its occupants were specially qualified by gifts and graces for rule and beneficence, and gave to the congregation its characteristic stamp. These offices were essentially distinct, though standing side by side." Harnack thinks bishop and presbyter were never wholly identical; but Hatch thinks they were for a time "in a certain sense." Harnack supposes that bishops arose more from taking over the functions of apostles and teachers than from their position in the presbytery; and he is followed by Kühl, who derives the later position of the bishop from the combination of the early office of bishop and the office of the teachers so prominent in the *Διδαχή*. Hatch's derivation of the bishop from the church treasurer is pronounced groundless. Neither was the early presbytery a sort of church police as these writers suppose, else how should Jewish Christians get to a bishop as an official of worship and doctrine?¹

Kühl rejects also Heinrici's theory, that the early Christian organization arose in imitation of the Greek religious societies, (*θιάσοι*), for presbyters and deacons are unknown in such societies. He gives up, however, the old view, which borrowed the local presbytery from the synagogue, for the presbyters of the earliest Jewish Christian churches, (Cf. Ep. of James), and much more those in the Gentile churches, by no means discharge the duties

¹Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Zum Ursprung des Episkopats in Zft. f. wissen, Theologie*, 1886, H. I.

See also in general Müller, *Die Verfassung der christlichen Kirche in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig, 1885.

of synagogue presbyters. They are rather like the ἀρχισυνάγωγος. And as a matter of fact the name ἄρχων is found instead of πρεσβύτερος in the synagogue of the Dispersion. The Greek synagogue had no presbyters.

The term ἐπίσκοπος, the first technical name for Gentile church officials, and διάκονος, an officer peculiarly Christian, are both foreign to the synagogue. Kühl thinks the first deacons arose to meet a felt need in the early Christian society. Later, and closely connected with the deacons, arose bishops as distinctively Christian officials, their duties being in many respects similar to those of the deacons. The work of such an official would naturally recall similar officials in civil, social or synagogue relations; but the origin of the office was in the needs of the Christian Church, and not in any foreign society. The διάκονοι among Greek slaves were those privileged ones who served about the master himself; the ἐπίσκοπος was a steward, an overseer over the διάκονοι and all the slaves; along this relation of things the New Testament terminology runs, and the bishop is the overseer of the Christian society, the servants of the Lord, and, in a narrower sense, also superintendent over the deacons and their work. And that, we are told, is just the picture given by Ignatius.

Hierarchical claims grew not only through respect for teachers and love of order, but were fostered by church watchfulness amid persecution. The Episcopal teaching in the Epistles of Ignatius bears the name of a man who wrote under the wrath of Rome, and was on his way to martyrdom. The same coincidence is found in the life of Cyprian. A study¹ of his letters shows how his views

¹ *Cyprian von Carthago und die Verfassung der Kirche*, von Otto Ritschl Göttingen, 1885.

became more prelatical as the Decian persecution went on, for he felt, with growing conviction, that a united Church, a strong bishopric, and strict discipline, were as a three-fold cord, which could not be broken. In those days of trial, there grew up in the West the idea of a Sacrament of Penitence and a Sacrament of Ordination. A new system of discipline for penitents led to a new view of the powers of the clergy, who guarded the sacraments. From Cyprian to Augustine, this tendency developed, and found in that great Father a resting-place, for with him began the second great epoch in doctrinal progress, a period which lasted till the Reformation. The views of Augustine on church government have been summed up by Reuter as follows:¹

(1) Augustine's doctrine of the Episcopate rests essentially on that of Cyprian, but the tone of the teaching is different, Augustine being no Church politician.

(2) The hierarchial element, predominant in Cyprian, was modified by Augustine, who nowhere traces it to a divine origin, and who does not make it so important for the Church.

(3) Submission to the bishop, as a condition of Church membership, is nowhere made prominent; the mediation of bishops is even in some passages expressly rejected.

(4) The difference between clergy and laity is minimized, and in some places ignored altogether in favor of the idea of a universal priesthood of believers. St. Peter is set forth as a representative of all Christians, without distinction of clergy and laity.

(5) The doctrine of the Sacrament of Orders, which

¹*Augustinische Studien*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. VIII. H. I., II., 1885-6.

Augustine founded, was not to support hierarchic interests, or a fruit of dogmatic cupidity; but was to cut off Donatist consequences, and defend the Catholic faith against them.

(6) It is very likely that Augustine did not know any of his contemporary Roman bishops, and had little intercourse with them by letter.

(7) He regarded all bishops as co-ordinate successors of the Apostles — Peter was but *primus inter pares*.

(8) There is ascribed to Peter, however, a superiority as first of the Apostles, and the Roman bishop, as his successor, has a relatively higher authority, though the extent of his jurisdiction is left indefinite, for such subjects had little interest for Augustine.

(9) Rome, as *sedes apostolica*, is regarded as authoritative bearer of doctrinal tradition, but this authority was not infallible, for even Peter was found fallible, both in doctrine and life.

(10) The idea of the infallibility of the Church has its roots in Augustine's common Catholic views; he nowhere expressly and systematically expounds it.

(11) The Episcopate and the Roman Apostolic See, all relatively co-ordinate Apostolic Sees, the Plenary Council, are all representations of the Church, but none forms the infallible representation, neither do they all together form it; such an infallible, undoubted representative organism does not exist.

IV. CHRISTIAN ART.

Interesting light continues to fall upon the whole life of the early Church from the growing interest taken in Christian archæology. Le Blant is prosecuting his work

on the sepulchral monuments of France, and, following his example, Grousset has begun similar research among those of Italy.¹ He gives a catalogue of sixty pages, enumerating Christian sarcophagi in Rome, which are not found in the Lateran museum. The list contains 195 numbers from fifty different places, and, though not complete, makes a desired beginning of a collection for all Italy.

The catacombs, in the hands of more intelligent students, yield less fanciful but more valuable and permanent results than was formerly the case. What their records really tell us has been well set forth recently by Rönneke, chaplain to the German embassy in Rome.² He speaks of fifty-four Christian catacombs now known in Rome, in which there were once perhaps six million dead. Of Jewish catacombs, besides the two previously known, Dr. N. Müller has found a third, which he will describe before long in detail. In this connection Rönneke says that the catacombs were the legally protected burying places of the Christians; for the Jews had the right thus to use their catacombs, and the early Christians had the same civil rights as the Jews. These Christians avoided proud monuments to individuals as well as the pit graves which were used for the *misera plebs*, such as were recently uncovered at the Esquiline hill; they loved the family burial place, the brotherhood in death. The Greek inscriptions show that Latin did not become the Church language in Rome till the third century. They speak also

¹ *Etude sur l'histoire des sarcophages chrétiens*, etc., Paris, 1885, Cf. also Lefort, *Etudes sur les monuments primitifs de la peinture chrétienne en Italie*, Paris, 1885.

² *Rom's christliche Katakomben nach den Ergebnissen der heutigen Forschung*, Leipzig, 1886.

of the bishops, Anteros, Fabian, etc., all up to Lucius (d. 254), bearing that title, and showing that there was no pope in those days. The statement is repeated, as now scientifically proven, that during the first three centuries the Roman catacombs were never used as regular meeting places for Sunday public worship ; nor were arrangements for such meetings made in them. The " Church in the catacombs " is a myth, and rests only upon Romish tradition. The so-called chapel of the time before Constantine would hold less than thirty persons, while the Church in Rome then numbered fifty thousand souls ! Besides, the graves in those " chapels " show they were family vaults. Much of the present decorations and inscriptions in the catacombs, we now learn, was due to Damasus in the latter part of the fourth century, when freedom was granted and the catacombs became resorts of pilgrims. A further error corrected is the view that the earliest Christian art agreed with that of the heathen at most only in matters of decoration, while in all else it was creative, setting forth Christian doctrines in the symbolism of art. All this is an attempt of Roman Catholic scholars to read post-Constantine pictures and inscriptions into pre-Constantine faith and practice. It is now an assured fact that the early Church was not an enemy of art ; it did not hesitate to put D. M. (*Diis Manibus*) on its graves, or set Orpheus in its pictures, both, however, being shot through with gospel light, and pointing to the truth toward which heathenism blindly groped. The Christians did not break with classic art ; they used it ; they transformed it, making it more and more a handmaid of the Church.¹

¹Cf. V. Schultze, in *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, 2e. Aufl. Bd. II, 1885, p. 271.

The following details may be noticed: The sacramental bread in this early art is painted as a loaf, not as the host; Adam and Eve eat a fig, not the apple of Roman tradition (*malum*, meaning both apple and evil); the three pre-Constantine baptisms are all by affusion; the views of God in the first three centuries all set forth his omnipotence, God is never painted; the earliest picture of the Virgin (2nd Century) has no nimbus; Jesus is the center of the family group; the Apostles dress as other men and have the roll of teacher in their hand. Similar decorations have been found recently in a Gnostic burial place in Rome.¹

Turning from the catacombs, the next great subject of Christian art is the church building. What was its origin? The current view is that it grew out of the Roman law court. Another view, advocated first by Kinkel (1845), traces the Christian basilica to the ancient dwelling house. According to this theory,² in the chief space of the Atrium, the Tablinum, and the two Alæ, are found the elements of the later nave, choir and transepts of the Christian basilica. The oldest church organization was, it is held, the family group. The Tablinum was the place of honor for the master of the house, the *διάκονος* of the early Church, and here began the priestly choir of the future basilica. In the Alæ were the deacons, deaconesses and widows. Between Tablinum and Impluvium stood in the early house a stone table; this became the Christian altar. During the past four years the current has changed somewhat against the dwelling-house

¹See *An Introduction to Early Christian Symbolism*, by Palmer, Brownlow and Northcote, London, 1885.

²Cf. Dehio *Die Genesis der christl. Basilica*, 1882.

origin of the Christian basilica. Schultze and others still hold it,¹ but K. Lange rejects it² for the following reasons: because the Tablinum was square and the apse of the Christian basilica was round; the Tuscan Atrium, the most common, did not have three aisles; the ordinary house had no such things; the Atrium had no roof as the basilica had; the houses with Atrium were in those days fast passing away—the single house being succeeded by houses in blocks—and, finally, the Atrium was always a court, but the basilica was a hall, a house. He shows, further, that the church of a place did not meet in the house of the earliest convert, nor did he preside as father or deacon, as is argued from I. Cor. xvi. 15. Lange traces the Christian basilica to the *schola*, or building for meeting and worship of the Roman *Collegia*, with its characteristic semi-circular apse for the teacher, and altar and statue of the favorite deity. Christian places of prayer consisted of one large room with a circular apse at one end. This apse formed the choir, with platform and altar; here, too, was the bishop's seat, surrounded by the seats of the elders. Such buildings were most suitable for the simple worship, and were most easily obtained or adjusted, *e. g.*, from baths, gymnasiums, etc., which were of the same form. A consequence of this view is that even in Apostolic times we must think of the churches as meeting in their own buildings, and that of the kind here described. The accounts of the churches in Paul's Epistles, we are told, support this theory. Thus

¹Cf. *Handbuch der Theol. Wissenschaften*, 2e. Aufl. Bd. ii., 1885, p. 274; also F. Reber, *Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters*, I Hälfte, Leipzig, 1885.

²*Haus und Halle*, Leipzig, 1885; see further *Architektonik der altchristlichen Zeit*, von R. Adamy, Hannover, 1884.

in Corinth, even at a love feast, the brethren came from their own homes. Such a meeting house was public, for even heathen might enter it (Cf. I. Cor. xiv. 23f). There were heathen temples and heathen school houses or club houses — the Christians chose the latter for their gatherings. Then came the historic growth from simple church to hierarchy, from plain hall to ornate temple, from one-aisled *schola* to three-aisled basilica, modeled on the public mercantile or legal basilica. No Christian basilicas date from before Constantine, for the transfer from the school-room to the basilican church took place when Christianity became the public or State religion. Baldwin Brown agrees¹ with Lange in "the view that the *schola* of a religious association was the original form of the Christian church," though he differs from him in holding that the meetings were, even till the close of the persecutions, more or less in private houses. He considers it a settled result of recent research that the whole procedure of the heathen funeral colleges was adopted, with certain obvious modifications, by the Christians, and that under cover of the privileges granted such corporations, the Church held cemeteries as its first real estate, while mortuary chapels and the large room of the burial club became the first models for Christian architecture.

¹*From Schola to Cathedral*, Edinburgh, 1886.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES.¹

I. INTRODUCTION.

HATCH, in a lecture which introduces a course of study of the eighth and ninth centuries, says² that "as mediævalism contains the key to the historical answer to the questions of our time between the church and the world, and within the church itself, between the ultramontane and its liberal elements, so do the eighth and ninth centuries contain the key to mediævalism. Those centuries yield only to the first and second centuries of our era in their fruitfulness in historical results, which, through the larger part of Christendom, have lasted for a thousand years. The great facts of those centuries in their ecclesiastical aspect are the legislation of Charles the Great, and the reaction against some parts of that legislation which found its expression in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Out of that legislation and that reaction has sprung the greater part of those institutions and practices which distinguish the primitive church from the church of later times. It is true that almost all those institutions and practices had their origin or their prototype in earlier ages; but it was in the eighth and ninth centuries, and under the influences of the two great causes which I have mentioned, that they

¹ *The Student's Ecclesiastical History*, by Philip Smith, has in Part II., London, 1885, been continued from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, and is about the best handbook for the student.

² *An Introductory Lecture on the Study of Ecclesiastical History*, London, 1885. The lecture being out of print, a copy was kindly furnished by the author.

assumed their later form and acquired the civil recognition which gave them force and permanence. It was in those conditions that the meshes of the hierarchical system were woven which covered Europe with its network of metropolitan and diocesan bishoprics, of archdeaconries and rural deaneries. It was in them that the bonds were forged which bound the churches of Europe together into a single system with a single head. It was in them that the early Christian practice of supplying the needs of the clergy and the poor by constantly-renewed gifts, finally passed into the system of territorial endowments, and that voluntary offerings were superseded by the payment of a fixed tenth, which might be enforced by process of law. It was in them that, as a consequence of this system of tithes, the last traces of the congregational system of early times vanished away, and that, just as for several centuries there had been the elements of a territorial jurisdiction in the position of a bishop in a city, so the churches of country parts came to have a defined area, to which the name "parish," which once meant a diocese, came to be narrowed. It was in them that the rules of ecclesiastical discipline, which had been in many respects vague and varying, came to be formulated into a recognized system, which ultimately became what is known as Canon Law. It was in them that the ecclesiastical procedure of later times began, and the system of appeals which, intended to be a protection against local injustice, ended by crushing local liberties. It was in them that the church made firm its grip upon the law and the ceremonial of marriage. It was in them that the question of the relation of Church and State first received its later answer, and that out of a state of things which would since have been miscalled

Erastian, there was developed the theory of the subordination of the regal to the sacerdotal power. It was in them that there first began, on any considerable and recognized scale, the practice of the clergy living together in a clergy-house, under the supervision of a bishop, or an archdeacon, or a provost; out of which practice sprang the greatest internal change which Christianity has known—the separation of clergy from laity by the material barrier of a chancel screen, and still more by the moral barrier of a different code of words, a separate dress, and an isolated life. It was in them that the penitential system spread, the practice of confessing sins as a condition of communion, and of assigning to each fault or sin its definite penalty. It was in them that there arose a change in doctrine, in practice and in ceremonial, of which it would be as difficult to overrate the importance as it would be to trace the ramifications, the change by which the Eucharistic offering of bread and wine, followed by the partaking of that which, by virtue of blessing and thanksgiving, was made to the partaker the Body and Blood of Christ, was superseded by the offering of that Body and Blood conceived as objectively and really present, in the elements and not in the soul.”

II. CHURCH AND STATE.

The two great factors in mediæval history were the German Empire and the Italian Papacy. Their relations were at first those of free mutual aid; then Charlemagne and his followers made laws for the Church, later Gregory VII. and his successors issued bulls for the State to obey.¹

¹For the old Catholic apprehension of the early middle ages see Langen, *Die Geschichte der Römischen Kirche von Leo I. bis Nikolaus I.*, Bonn, 1885, and for the Ultramontane view, Jungmann, *Dissertationes selectae in historiam ecclesiasticam.* T. V. Ratisbonae, Neo-Eboraci, 1885.

Church and State in the Holy Roman Empire of German nationality very early became closely blended; they were as the inside and the outside of the same vessel, logically distinct, but actually inseparable; neither can be understood without a full knowledge of the other. Hence Ranke puts in the foreground of his history of the Early German Empire its relation to the Church.¹ He says "we shall not be blamed for giving so much space in a general history to spiritual movements. Events can be understood only by giving careful attention to the spiritual impulses which exercised most influence upon them, and concludes that "the idea of the superiority of ecclesiastical authority to secular power² was the most effective in the period in question." The balance of those two powers, whose rights can never be thoroughly settled, has made and makes the Europe which we see. The tenth century beheld the Europe of the ninth revolutionized. The priesthood rose superior to the worldly power until the Empire of Henry I. and Otto I. restored power and respect to the throne and freed it from submission to the papacy. Ranke lays stress on the influence of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals and the high ideal of papal power set forth by Nicholas I. in the conflict of authorities. He justifies the bishops that supported Lothaire II., who wished to continue the Carolingian line through the son of Waldrada. He also finds in the Privilegium of Otto I. "essential limitation of the papal power."

The theory of the relations of Church and State formed one of the topics upon which scholastic subtlety afterward

¹ *Weltgeschichte, Sechster Theil: Zersetzung des Karolingischen, Begründung des deutschen Reiches*, 2 Abth, Leipzig 1885.

² Cf. also Thiel's Inaugural Dissertation, *Die politische Thätigkeit des Abtes Bernhard von Clairvaux*, Braunsberg, 1885.

spent itself. There were wonderful doctors with learned arguments to prove that pope or emperor should have the wider dominion. Among the latter class none occupied a more prominent place than the reviver of Nominalism, William of Occam. A recent essay¹ gives the following synopsis of his teaching on this vexed question of government.

(1) He based the State on justice, and justice, as natural, on reason. This is the department of the State, and here it is independent of revelation. He seeks to apply this principle practically as, *e. g.* to see whether monarchy is the best form of government in Church or State.

(2) He limits Church jurisdiction to things spiritual. The Church is to promote piety, make her constitution subserve godliness, regard all judicial matters as but means to this end, and so limit her claim to judgment, that collisions with the State can be avoided, because the Church no longer touches temporal matters with a co-operating power.

(3) This division of Church and State is not to result in separation; but where the two meet—in matters of church property, etc.,—the State must exercise influence in the case of civil justice, and the voice of the church be heard in spiritual concerns. This, however, does not affect secular rule. Neither must the right of rulers to govern be contingent on their being believers.

(4) Occam's moral ideal is the monastic, hence theology precedes philosophy, the clerical the secular, and the moral standard measures worldly affairs as on a lower plane, though it is to be recognized as independent there.

¹*Das Verhältniss von Kirche und Staat nach Occam*, von A. Dorner, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1885, H, IV.

This leaves room for casuistry. Occam also fails sometimes to carry out his high claims for the spiritual because he did not regard this as synonymous with ecclesiastical, but as purer and somewhat apart from it. Hence he allowed the State, in a semi-spiritual character, as occasion required, to control outer church matters. When the Reformation came and recognized the civil power as having a moral right of existence in itself, then this confusion which clung to Occam's view disappeared.

(5) Especially important for Occam was the principle that both State and Church form a social organization of individuals into a totality. Each is to care for its members, while the individual is also to defend his rights for himself. The standard of individual rights in matters of faith is the Bible—and Occam in his attacks on the infallibility of both pope and council from this vantage ground is a forerunner of Luther—but in secular affairs each man is free to use his reason and act when he thinks the good of the community is suffering. That is pretty revolutionary, and Occam is radical for individual rights. Rulers spring from the people, and should care for the people, else they may fall. The low view taken of secular power, in contrast with the monastic ideal, made such a position more readily plausible to him. The old notion of a State to give prosperity and be obeyed, or to allow misfortune and be overthrown, was not here overcome. Occam's influence was good in urging the idea of national states and of national churches, of secular morality and a maturer relation of Church and State, though his monastic, dualistic views of life did not let him reach a properly balanced position.

III. THE MEDIÆVAL PAPACY.

Of the Papal archives, from which new source material is coming to light every year,¹ Löwenfeld has recently given a valuable historic account.² Such an archive can be shown to have existed first at the beginning of the fifth century, but there is reason to believe that such a record is as old as the papacy itself. Besides the writings of each day there were kept in the archive volumes of Registers, i. e. books containing systematically prepared copies of papal correspondence. The registers of the earlier period—until the death of Coelestine III. (1199)—have been lost with the exception of a few fragments from the pontificate of Gregory I., John VIII., and Gregory VII., of which we have copies. With the removal of the papacy to Avignon, the papal archive began to wander about.

Ehrle, a Roman Catholic scholar, has recently given much new information about the movements of the pope's library and records.³ They were taken first to Perugia, whence a part of the treasure was carried to St. Frediano in Lucca (1312), where it was plundered by the Ghibellines while on the way to Avignon (1314). The part left

¹ Cf. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, Texte, Introduction et Commentaire. Fasc. I. et II, Paris, 1884-5. A new edition. He thinks the oldest part was written under Hormisdas (514-523). Waitz is not so favorable to it. See *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsch Geschichts-Kunde*, Bd. xi, H. ii., 1886. See also Löwenfeld, *Epistole Pontificum Romanorum inedite*, Lipsiæ, 1885, containing 424 hitherto unpublished letters of popes from Gelasius I. to Coelestine III (493-1198), *Elf Papstbullen*, by the same editor, in *Neues Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. ältere D. Geschichtskunde*, Bd. xi, H. ii, 1886, belonging to the vii-x centuries. And *Regestum Clementis Papæ V.*, Rome, 1885, edited by the Benedictines, and giving the important beginning of the papal regesta in Avignon.

² *Geschichte des päpstlichen Archivs von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Leo XIII.*, in *Sitzungs-Berichte der hist. Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Dec. 1885.

³ *Zur Geschichte des Schatzes, der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Päpste im XIV. Jahrhundert*, in *Archiv für Litteratur—und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Bd. I., H. I. and II. 1885.

in Perugia was taken to Assisi where it also fell into the hands of the Ghibellines (1319). The money was lost, but most of the manuscripts were recovered under John XXII. In 1339 a portion, thirty-two out of one hundred and ten chests of books, went to Avignon. Of the seventy-eight boxes left in Assisi Ehrle gives us from manuscript sources a careful inventory, préparé in 1339 by the papal secretaries. He adds also¹ a list of the historical manuscripts still in Assisi.

Returning to the archive proper, Löwenfeld tells us that its wanderings may be said to have ended under Paul V. (1605-21), who united the divided archives of the papal chancery, the secretaries' office and other records, thus becoming the creator of the present archive. During this period of frequent removal much archive material was lost. Of the part which was saved not all returned to Rome with the papacy; the last volumes of registers did not leave France till the time of the French Revolution. These records were kept in the Lateran; in the end of the fifteenth century they were in the Vatican, with a valuable portion in the castle of St. Angelo. Paul V. united all, only leaving the St. Angelo part by itself. When the French seized Rome, 1798, Marini, was custodian, and accompanied the captured records to Paris, whither Napoleon took them in 1810. The archive returned to Rome in 1815. Ehrle says that we hear nothing of a regular papal library till toward the end of the fourteenth century, though there was long a collection of books under care of a sacristan. The earliest lists of papal treasure include the oldest catalogue of the papal library and archives. Of

¹ In the *Archiv*, H. III., 1885.

the treasures of the popes in Avignon we have a catalogue of A. D. 1295, which contains eighty folio pages of the names of manuscripts. This catalogue Ehrle gives complete. It contains four hundred and forty-three titles of books. Besides bibles and commentaries there are works of Fathers, a *liber in arte sermocinandi*, a similar treatise by Peter of Capua, a cardinal, another *liber artis predicandi*, and seventy volumes of sermons, showing that sacred eloquence was not neglected in those days. Seven books were added under Boniface VIII. The Vatican library proper was founded by the Renaissance pope, Nicholas V. For it he collected and copied manuscripts through all parts of Europe. A catalogue of the Vatican numbers eight hundred and seven manuscripts secured by Nicholas. For centuries this library was a sealed treasure. A very limited use of it was allowed by the younger Marini, and since the work of Münch¹ attention has been turned afresh to this great record storehouse. Scholars are now at work under the patronage of Leo XIII.,² and the publication of these records is going on unhindered. Bresslau thinks the papal archive system was borrowed from the Roman chancery system, as it existed between Constantine and Justinian.³

The growth of papal independence is seen everywhere in the utterances and indications of these archives. Even so incidental a matter as the method of dating the records shows the ruling idea of the curia.⁴ At first the bishops

¹ *Aufschlüsse über das päpstliche Archiv*, 1879.

² Cf. *Current Discussions in Theology*, Vol. iii., 1885, p. 158.

³ *Die Zusammenhänge der ältesten päpstlichen Administration mit der römisch-Kaiserlichen* in the *Sitzungsberichte der hist. Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Feb. 1886.

⁴ Cf. Pflugk-Harttung, *Papstpolitik in Urkunden*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1886, H. I.

of Rome dated by consuls, reckoning from the year of Flavius Basilius, with whom the office ceased, until A. D. 550, when the year of the Eastern Emperor was added. In 596 the imperial consulate was joined to dates. Then Rome swung more and more from the Eastern Empire, till in 772 Hadrian I. put the sacred trinity, and then the year of his own pontificate as date, *i. e.* next to God comes the pope, in human history. His successor, Leo III., dated by the trinity, the papacy, and Charlemagne, for the Western Empire was now overshadowing the Eastern on the Roman horizon. After 800 the year of the Western Emperor is given and the papal year dropped. When the imperial throne was vacant John VIII. returned to papal dating, putting Christ's name in the first place, the future emperor's to come third. Even after Otto I. (962) the emperor's name stood last, a good proof that Rome did not recognize imperial supremacy. Later, the emperor's name was dropped, and merely the number of his year given. From Leo IX. (1047) the imperial name was banished from the papal chancery, for the papal state was beginning to found itself. The rival pope, Clement III. (1086) put only the emperor's name in dates. Paschal II. also was obliged to enter the imperial year. Whether Guelph or Ghibelline prevailed in Rome can be seen by the dating there during the eleventh century. Even the style of writing, old curial, Frankish, etc., reflects the party history of the papacy.

Following the literature of the past year we come next to the history of the papacy in the period of the Renaissance. Here recent publication of source material and free access to manuscript records have enabled Pastor, a Roman Catholic historian, to give us a work especially

rich in its details.¹ In that time of revival the activity was both literary and religious. The humanists, with their zeal for the antique, were accompanied by the monks preaching the ancient doctrines of repentance. This latter element, Pastor justly insists, has hitherto been too much ignored. There was a terrible practical paganism growing up in literary circles, when Laurentius Valla taught that pleasure was the chief end of man. Immorality ran riot in Naples, Florence and Siena, until, as in ancient Rome, laws had to be passed compelling men to marry. There is doubtless some truth in the charge that this license of the humanists was a forerunner of the coming Revolution which shook all Europe. But even Boccaccio, the filthy, as well as Petrarch, the pure, were not unbelievers, neither were they hostile to the Church. The early Renaissance was favored by the papacy; and not till heathen uncleanness followed heathen learning did the conflict come which arrayed zealous and often ignorant monks against the witty skeptics with their Greek fire. A further stage in the development was the appearance of men both godly and learned during the fifteenth century, who could defend the Church with weapons from classic arsenals. Such Christian humanists found a home at the papal court, and in the person of Nicholas V. the Renaissance ascended the throne of St. Peter. This began an important era, for the papacy continued in the spirit of the humanists until it reached full worldly development in the person of Leo X.

IV. THE IRISH CHURCH.

Continued attention is being given to the Irish Church of the early middle ages, for its comparative freedom from

¹ *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance, bis zur Wahl Pius II.*, Freiburg, I. B. 1886.

Roman influence enables us the better to trace the regular growth of ecclesiastical institutions. The collection of Irish Canons,¹ which was made about the end of the seventh century, shows that Roman methods were in the ascendancy, and yet the Irish customs were not extinct; hence the two usages occur side by side. Wide reference to Greek writers points to connection with the East, and knowledge of Greek in the far West before the time of Theodore of Canterbury. This acquaintance with Greek points also doubtless to some influence of the Egyptian monastery system upon the monastic church of Ireland and Scotland — a unique thing in the West.

On reading these Canons we are struck by the little that is said about church constitution, organization of dioceses, relations of bishops to archbishops, etc. The reason is that the territorial system of bishops and metropolitans had as yet taken little root in Ireland; for *Wasserschleben* holds, against *Loos*, that Episcopal sees and parochial limits were unknown in the old Irish Church.

These appeared first in the latter part of the seventh century. Ireland did not belong to the Empire, hence the provincial bishop borrowed from the provincial governor, was not found there. When the bishop became a leader it was as a chief at the head of his clan.²

Seven bishops belonged sometimes to one monastery. A bishop was frequently a teacher, or scribe, or might live as a hermit. There was no hierarchical head of the Irish Church; it formed a federation of monasteries and groups of monasteries, each one being under some

¹See *Wasserschleben's* new edition, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, Leipzig, 1885.

²Cf. *The Position of the Old Irish Church*, in *The Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1885.

mother-monastery. Each monastery had priests and bishops in it. Such bishops had official rank, but not diocese rank, as elsewhere in the West. The bishop ordained and confirmed at the request of the abbot, and was, in a sense, under him as his monastic superior.

When the Roman influence came into the Irish Church there was also rising a hermit tendency, which more or less undermined the monastic system, and in its service missionaries left home for heathen lands.

On the Continent the Irish monastic method took deeper root than is often supposed. In Fulda, Utrecht and elsewhere the bishop is found dependant on the ruling abbot—and that in the territory of Boniface. Perhaps the conflict of Celt and Saxon was not so fierce there as is sometimes thought. It is certain, however, that with all liberty of internal government the Anglo-Saxon monasteries recognized the rule of the bishop of the diocese; while the Irish monks in Luxeuil, Murbach and elsewhere claimed and exercised all such powers of rule themselves, including the election of their own bishop for Episcopal duties among them.¹

V. DOCTRINAL AND SECTARIAN MOVEMENTS.

1. *The Teaching of Abelard.*

We may begin this part of our theological report with the brilliant essay of Denifle on the works of Abelard.² The relation of these writings to each other, which is

¹For the history of a similar conflict in the South between the Germans and the Slavs Cf. *St. Cyrille et St. Méthode. Première Lutte des Allemands Contre les Slaves*, par A. D. Avril, Paris, 1885.

²Cf. *Abälard's Sentenzen und die Bearbeitungen seiner Theologie von Mitte des 12. Jhs.* in *Archiv für Literatur—und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 1885, H. II. III. IV.

referred to by mediæval critics, has been investigated with great thoroughness by this Roman Catholic scholar, and the discovery of important manuscripts has enabled him to solve this vexed question. Walter of St. Victor speaks of a work of Abelard, called *Sententiae divinitatis*, which has come down to us, but shows by its teachings that it cannot be directly from him.¹ The explanation latterly given has been that these *Sententiae* were a student's notes of the teaching of Abelard. But Denifle now finds this work to be one of four such *Sententiae*, all derived from a common source, and that a regular course of theology. What relation had this to the *Theologia* of Abelard condemned at Sens 1141? The second book of *Sententiae*, found by Denifle, was composed by using the *Introductio ad Theologian* of the great teacher, for here we have his pelagian views, denial that the Spirit is con-substantial with the Father and Son, etc., hence, it is held this is the work of a true disciple of Abelard. A third book of *Sententiae* found in manuscript bears the name of Roland, afterward Pope Alexander III. It rests also on the *Introductio* and is the work of the canonist Roland. It shows a modified following of Abelard. The fourth book of *Sententiae* discovered betrays a more faithful follower of Abelard. It was written by Omnibene, of whom very little is known. These four books of Sentences are connected with the *Theologia* of Abelard as follows: All four spring from a common source, for they all adopt essentially the same three-fold divisions of (1), Faith; (2), the Sacraments; (3), Love. The contents, also, is in substance the same, the doctrine being that of Abelard. None of the four is a copy of lectures heard. Roland frequently opposes the views of

¹Published by Remwald as *Epitome Theologiae Christianae*, Berlin, 1835.

Abelard in his *Sententiae* and had a written text before him. So had the other three. The *Sententiae* of Abelard was a compendium of his theology written down, and to which these four *Sententiae* go back. They were regarded by most contemporary and later writers as extracts from Abelard's works. Thus Bernard quoted our book of Sentences as from Abelard. The result then is this: All four *Sententiae* came from Abelard's *Theologia*, for all begin with the words "There are three things in which the sum of man's salvation consists, faith, love and the sacraments," and such a beginning is found in no other of his writings. This *Theologia* of Abelard, however, is not his *Theologia Christiana*, because it does not begin so, nor is it so divided. It is the *Introductio*, for it best fits both these conditions. We have, therefore, only a fragment of Abelard's theology, the book on Faith, the part on the Sacraments and Love is lost. It was written later and published in portions. The short course of theology out of which the four *Sententiae* sprang was the *Theologia* which was condemned at Sens, 1141; it was not the treatise *De unitate et trinitate*, which was condemned at Soissons, 1121. It is usually taught also that Abelard left no school after him; but the three books of Sentences discovered by Denifle show how wide the teaching of Abelard influenced theological thinking. He did leave a school behind him, and a mild follower of his ascended the papal throne. These *Sententiae* were compendia of theology made by professors for use with their students. Roland was professor in Bologna and taught in the spirit of Abelard. The school, however, did not survive its founder's death very long, though his method, as seen in *Sic et non*, prevailed, and influenced future discussions of all sorts.

There was, accordingly, as Denifle shows, a theological-canonical school active in Bologna in the middle of the twelfth century. Roland, Omnibene and Gandulphus, of whom we are now learning, labored there. Three manuscripts containing *Sententie* of this last theologian have just come to light. Omnibene was Abelardism. Roland was half Abelardian. Gandulphus was a student of the Fathers and was not influenced by Abelard. These men show the different theological tendencies of the middle of the twelfth century.

2. *The Apocalyptic School of Joachim.*

Ehrle seeks to clear the way for a proper understanding of the prophetic movement connected with Joachim by first giving a description of the Franciscan Spirituals, among whom it took deepest root.¹ He finds two periods in this history, the first ending about the middle of the fourteenth century, a time of conflict between different tendencies, conservative and lax, the period of the Spirituals; in the second period, beginning 1321 with the controversy about the poverty of Christ, we enter the era of the Fraticelli, when John XXII. decided against the strict Franciscan and a new party arose, distinguished from the Spirituals, though both ran in parallel lines. To identify Spirituals and Fraticelli, Ehrle says, brings confusion. The Spirituals divided under John XXII., some opposing him and being crushed by the Inquisition—these received the name Fraticelli; the rest continued under Bernard of Siena, Jacob of the Mark and others till they reached their goal

¹*Die Spiritualen, ihr Verhältniss zum Franciscanerorden und zu den Fraticellen*, in *Archiv f. Litt. und Kirchengesch. d. M. A.*, 1885, H. IV. He gives valuable material from the XIV. century hitherto unpublished.

in the Reform provinces of the Observants. There was also great variety of views among the different local groups of the Spirituals.

The spread of Joachimism in such circumstances certainly marked a crisis in the Church life of the thirteenth century. Thousands looked for the end of the Roman Church and the appearance of the Church of the Spirit. All heresies of that time laid stress on the spiritual and ignored largely the outer Word, the priesthood and visible sacraments.¹ In the same direction the followers of Joachim preached the Church of the Holy Spirit, the priesthood of monks and the everlasting gospel of the Apocalypse. But what did Joachim really teach? This question has, for the first time, received a fully satisfactory answer from Denifle,² who tells us what the *Evangelium Aeternum* of Joachim really was. The name was borrowed from Rev. xiv., 6, and Joachim said his gospel was what proceeds from the gospel of Christ: this is a spiritual gospel, for the letter killeth and proceeds from the literal gospel as its permanent essence. A future Order, he held, would preach this gospel, their spiritual mind going into its spirit, while the gospel of Christ would cease. The spiritual Church which should arise was the Church of Peter, glorified and made meet to remain for ever. The Order clergy would not destroy the regular clergy, as these do not destroy the laity. The Everlasting Gospel of Joachim was, therefore, not a writing; it was the spiritual meaning of the gospel of Christ, reached in this Order through contemplation and by the illumination of the Holy Spirit.

¹Cf. E. Gebhart, *Recherches nouvelles sur l'histoire du Joachimisme*, in *Révue Historique*, 1886, No. 1.

²*Das Evangelium aeternum und die Commission zu Anagni*, in *Archiv f. L. u. Kirchengesch. des M. A.*, 1885; Bd. I., H. I.

That was the teaching of Joachim ; but in the thirteenth century these views became connected with the name of Gerard of Borgo S. Donnino, a Franciscan, who wrote in 1254 the *Introductorius in Evangelium æternum*, in which by the Everlasting Gospel is meant the three works of Joachim, the *Concordia Evangeliorum*,¹ *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, and the *Psalterium decem chordarum*. Gerard took this ground because he found in those writings the spiritual sense of the Old and new Testament transmitted through Joachim. The meaning of the gospel of Christ in the words of Joachim made them the Everlasting Gospel, and the Scriptures for the Church of the Spirit, as the Old Testament was for the Church of the Father, and the New Testament for the Church of the Son. Joachim was, accordingly, the angel of Apocalypse, and the time of his revelation about 1200. In a sense, too, St. Francis of Assisi, was that angel, and to his Order is this gospel chiefly entrusted to be preached to the nations.

Such an idea, of a written Gospel of the spirit, contradicts Joachim's teaching, and has brought great confusion into the accounts of this whole movement. Denifle gives us further new information when he adds that Gerard had very few followers, the disciples of Joachim remaining essentially true to his teaching ; the errors of the Gerard party must not be imputed to the Joachim school as has hitherto been done. The view of Haupt² is substantiated by Denifle, that the thirty-one excerpts against Joachim's teaching were made, not by inquisitors, but by the hostile professors in Paris; they were a perversion of his words

¹This writing, also the treatises *Tractatus contra Judæos* and *Libellus de articulis fidei*, are new works of Joachim of which we now hear through Denifle.

²*Zur Geschichte des Joachimismus*, Gotha, 1885.

and are not to be used in setting forth his teaching. The doctrines of Joachim and his pseudo-writings undermined scholasticism by putting intuitive knowledge of God in the place of inductive reasoning, hence the opposition to them. The council of Arles, which condemned the writings of Joachim, is now shown by Denifle, not to have met before 1263.

3. *The Beghards.*

The most important source for the history of the sects of the Free Spirit in the middle ages is the list of their pantheistic teachings called *Compilatio de novo spiritu*, which Preger published and ascribed to Albertus Magnus. This conjecture has now been proved correct by Haupt from new MS. sources.¹ A Mayence MS. shows that the pantheistic sect spoken of by Albert lived near Nördlingen, not in Switzerland. Nicholas of Bâle belonged, we now learn, to it, and not to the Friends of God of Upper Germany. From this new source we also hear of his death. He went about as a beghard, fled to Vienna with two disciples, where they were led back to orthodoxy by Henry of Hassia, but afterward returned to their own views and were burnt. He died probably between 1393 and 1397. A second MS., *Materia contra Beghardos*, sums up their errors in the controversy which raged for two hundred years against them, the Dominicans leading the attack, the Franciscans, as the third order of Minorites, helping in the defence. Another MS. shows how the Papal Court in the XIV. century condemned both Begines and Beghards as if they were the wild Spirituals,

¹*Die Sekte vom Freien Geiste und die Begharden*, in *Ztft. f. Kirchengeschichte* Bd. VII. H. IV., 1885.

the Beguini of the Franciscans. But Haupt says that by 1350 the earlier identification of the Beghards with the sect of the Free Spirit had already in some places been given up. He shows further that genuine Beghards and Begines used to beg, and mendicancy was always a mark of these men. They were orthodox and are not to be confounded with the pantheistic sects, for they laid no more stress on mysticism than the monks. The great majority of the Beghards, persecuted as followers of the sect of the Free Spirit, seem to have had nothing to do with it. The reform movement here referred to began as early as the X. Century in Metz, Verdun, and, as we now know, in Lower Lorraine and Flanders.¹ It was parallel with the movement for monastic reform from Cluny, but not directly connected with it.

4. *Monastic Orders and Penitents.*

Recent studies² in the history of the Minorites show that the usual ideas ascribed to Francis of Assisi in founding his brotherhood belong rather to a later time, and that the decline from the original plan of the founder began much earlier than has hitherto been supposed. Of the two sets of rules ascribed to Francis — those of 1209 and 1221 — the latter is a working over of the former and contains portions of still earlier rules. The original rules of Francis, Müller finds essentially in certain parts of the code of 1221. The new material was worked in to suit

¹Cf. *Gerhard von Brogne und die Klosterreform in Niederlothringen u. Flandern*, von W. Schultze, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, Bd. XXV, 1885.

²Müller, *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbruderschaften* Freiburg I. B., 1885; Cf. also *Analecta Franciscana* * * * edita a fra'tribus collegii S. Bonaventurae, etc.. T. I. Quarachii, 1885.

the changed relations of the fraternity, which was now becoming an Order. The plan of Francis was to found a brotherhood of laymen, who should renounce all possessions, give them to the poor, and preach the kingdom of God and repentance as the message of peace to men. Poverty, Penance, Peace — that was the burden of those evangelists. They went out on missionary tours and were not to settle anywhere. The common view, that Francis wished to found an Order, is shown to be wrong, also the idea that he went from place to place planting monasteries, and that his struggle between 1209 and 1223 was to get papal recognition. The truth is it was a free collection of lay brothers, united by the tie of a religious ideal of a peculiar sort, under the paternal leadership of Francis. There was no organization, and the proposal in 1209 to become hermits or monks was rejected. The rules were simple directions, but no law for a monastic order. The idea of Francis was to preach the gospel of the traveling disciples of Jesus, and not, as is commonly said, to restore Apostolic life according to the principles of the original church in Jerusalem. This plan was carried out till 1219, stress being laid upon voluntary poverty and self-support. The rules of 1221 made the society an order, for Francis set out for the East and a system was needed for the guidance of the brotherhood. Disorder followed, whereupon Francis turned to the pope, the result being that the original free fraternity became a monastic order subservient to the papacy. Now the rules of 1209 were worked over to suit the changed circumstances. Then came the rules of 1223, and the growth of the order into mendicants; clerical privileges also were gained for the brotherhood. Next followed the transition from wander-

ing preachers to permanent monks, and clerical men of the world, with churches, monasteries and schools. Before Francis died the transformation was complete — monastic, papal; and his original plan of humble service to the distressed was nearly forgotten and lost. Müller gives new information about the Tertiaries also. Their traditional rules did not come from Francis, but from Nicholas IV., and are, therefore, of no value for the history of the order. These societies of penitents were not at first always connected with the Minorites, but might be controlled by other Mendicant orders, or by the regular clergy. The bull of Nicholas IV. attempted a new thing in trying to put the penitents exclusively under control of the beggar monks, especially of his own order, the Minorites. Hence his rules were accepted only by those penitents who followed the Franciscans. The early Tertiaries were ascetic, and as different from the later ones as the first disciples of Francis from the later Minorites. All these penitent societies occupied originally neutral ground, and affiliated now with the Franciscans, now with the Dominicans, or others. Further study of these revival movements in the Middle Ages shows how in all ages certain warm-hearted men have, in like manner, sought to carry the gospel to the poor. Francis and Dominic, Luther and Calvin, Loyola and Philip Neri, Charles Simeon and John Newton, Hurrell Froude and Cardinal Newman have been followed by multitudes, who, had they exchanged times and places, would have done pretty much what history tells us was done. The Franciscans were the Wesleyans of the Middle Ages, the Dominicans might be called the Whitefieldians of their time.¹

¹ Cf. *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, by W. Fitzgerald, 2 vols., London, 1885. For the far-reaching influence of the loving apprehension of Christ and

As Müller has explained the origin of the Minorite order, so has Denifle cast fresh light upon the rise of its great rival, the Dominican.¹ He has just published from MS. sources for the first time the oldest regular Constitution of the Preacher Order of A. D. 1228. We now see clearly that the Dominicans were a branch of the canonical regulars, and that this order was in rise and growth but a modification of the order of Canons. Their rules were partly those of the Canons. They remained always, as Dominic himself was, regular clergy, only widening their work, as their founder widened his rules by working over those of the Præmonstrants, so as best to do evangelistic work. The field was the world, hence the Dominicans differed from others in having a general over all the brotherhood, with weak local attachments. Pastoral work was not undertaken, and manual labor was omitted, so as to leave liberty for study and prayer. Thus the starting point of the Dominicans and that of the Franciscans were about as different as the cathedral clergy and Waldensian lay preachers. Fixed dwellings, long forbidden the Franciscans, were a matter of course among canonical Dominicans. Higher education among them was not an after growth, as among the Minorites, but was part of their original plan; for they first made learning a prominent preparation for preaching and the conversion of heretics.

5. *The Inquisition.*

The darkest part of the Middle Ages is the dungeon of

humanity by Francis upon Mediæval Art, see the valuable work of Thode, *Francis von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, Berlin, 1885.

¹ *Die Constitution des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228, in Archiv f. L. u. Kirchengesch., d. M. A. 1885, H. II.*

the Inquisition; but even this is now opening, and from the very record of the Holy Office we can read the theory and the practice of uprooting heresy.¹ Bernard Gui wrote his book about A. D. 1321, and gives a resumé of the work of the dread tribunal in central France for a century. He was fully informed, being a Dominican, a friend of John XXII, and inquisitor in Toulouse from 1306 to 1323. He tried 647 persons, and was very familiar with the heresies of his time and with the Church mode of opposing them. His book was for the use of inquisitors, hence its instructions and legal forms of citation and arrest (38), of favor and commutation of punishment (56), and of condemnation (47 forms), are directions that were actually in use. He gives a careful description of the heretics—Manichaeans, poor men of Lyons, false Apostles, Beguins, Jews, sorcerers and diviners, with an account of their teachings and practices, and their stratagems to escape punishment. Warrants are prescribed for Talmudical books because "many blasphemies were in them against the name of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary and the Christian name." The Waldenses were condemned for rejecting oaths, refusing to obey the Pope, confessing to each other, rejecting indulgences, recognizing but three orders, deacon, presbyter and bishop, ordaining by simple prayer and laying on of hands, allowing laymen to preach, and denying that a sinful priest could consecrate the host.

The Beguins were opposed, though claiming to belong to the third rule of St. Francis, because they held the early Franciscan view of poverty against papal decisions. This rule was Gospel for them, and they held that the

¹Cf. Bernardus Guidonis *Practica Inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, now published for the first time by C. Douais, Paris, 1886.

Pope had no power to interpret their rules or dissolve their order. Gui says they were apocalyptic in their views, regarding themselves as the spiritual church, but the Papal Church as Babylon and its worldly clergy as serving Antichrist; for the Pope was Antichrist, and the end of all things was at hand. Their great authority in south France was Peter John Olivus, a Minorite. He said that all his knowledge had come from God by infusion, and he was inwardly illuminated by Christ. Gui adds that many of the Beguins were burnt for heresy from 1317 on.

Witchcraft also was punished as heresy. The explanation that it was a thing of the masses, which the church could not reach, is now seen to be incorrect, for the inquisition took the initiative, and the death of witches was part of the destruction of hereties, all of whom were children of the devil.¹

Further valuable information about the Order of the Apostles adds to our knowledge of the wonderful movement in the fourteenth century, in which prophets arose everywhere foretelling the overthrow of priests and papacy. This agitation was closely connected with the papal schism on the one hand, and with the reform efforts of Wiclif² and Hus on the other.

VI. WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

Christianity is the religion which rests on union with God through Jesus Christ, who is both divine and human, two natures in one person forever. Some, Protestant, tendencies of thought have paid too exclusive attention to

¹Cf. A. Duverger, *Le premier grand proces de sorcellerie aux Pays-Bas*, Arras, 1885.

²Cf. Buddensieg, *Johan Wiclif und seine Zeit*, Gotha, 1885.

the man Jesus, and have degenerated often into mere Humanitarianism; other, Catholic, forms of teaching have looked too much at the divine Christ, exalted to the right hand of the Father as supreme judge of the universe. This last one-sidedness has robbed the sorrowful human worshipper of that human sympathy and tenderness which his heart hungers for in the God who can pity and help him. The void thus created in the teaching of the Church has been largely filled by the growing worship of the Virgin Mary, of which Benrath has just given us a valuable historic outline.¹ Until far down in the third century Mary was regarded as a virgin chosen to be mother of the Messiah, and only in a sporadic way is a share in the work of redemption ascribed to her. Whether she bore other children was an open question; and no reverence beyond grateful memory was paid to her. She is not mentioned in the Nicene Creed. But as Christ became more transcendental in theology the beautiful humanity of Mary became more prominent in worship. After Athanasius the idea of perpetual virginity was spread by monastic preachers. Ambrose and Augustine then appear referring Gen. iii. 15, to Mary as coöperating to crush evil. In the fourth century her immaculate conception is heard of, but her worship was not yet allowed, though we now meet the first prayer addressed to her. Early Christian art shows the same drift: at first Mary is always one in a group, but becomes more prominent till she is represented alone. By the end of the fifth century in the East the worship of Mary was near its goal in popular usage. The Nestorian controversy had made her *θεοτόκος*, and the Council of

¹*Zur Geschichte der Marienverehrung, in Studien und Kritiken, 1886, H. I., II.*

Ephesus, 431, proclaimed the victory of Mariolatry over the earlier simple honor to the Virgin. The later worship did not grow, as is generally stated, out of the common ground in which the honor of the saints flourished, for the reverence of saints sprang from the respect paid to martyrs, which is quite another source than the origin of the worship of Mary. At Ephesus she was made immaculate; the next step was to prescribe the proper worship. The festival of the assumption occurs in the early part of the seventh century, the East preceding the West in this new departure. The iconoclastic controversy increased the glory of Mary and surrounded her with much poetry and praise. Then the full current of adoration in both East and West bore the Virgin in person and worth up to the place of Christ the Lord. She is "the true vine." John of Damascus calls her the Saviour of the world, the Latin church repeats it, *Salvatrix mundi*. Anselm puts her next to God, saying *Deus est pater rerum creatarum, et Maria mater rerum recreatarum*. In the ninth century the belief was fixed that Christ was born *clauso utero*. Peter Damiani (d. 1072) secured Mary her position by introducing her worship into the canonical prayers of the monks, and having Saturday set apart for her service. Now arose the *Ave Maria*, closing with the petition "*ora pro nobis*." This prayer, second in use only to the *Pater noster*, became general in the thirteenth century, and in the next century the Angelus and rosary helped to spread the worship of Mary.

VII. THE CRUSADES.

Before crusades arose against the Saracens in Asia, recent studies show there were crusades against the Moors

in Spain.¹ Gregory VII. and the Abbot of Cluny urged the Duke of Bourgogne to invade Spain on behalf of Christianity. In 1079 the Duke of Chalon fell in such a conflict. From 1085 on, this desultory border war continued under cover of religion. In 1101, Henry of Bourgogne, his brother and cousin, with a number of noble ladies, set out for Palestine. Thus we find the knightly romance, the selling all to go on a crusade, the vows, the adventures, filling the early part of the XI. century with holy wars against Spanish infidels, as the close of the century is full of armies moving against the unbelievers in Palestine. These Spanish wars of religion went on, also, parallel with the crusades proper, and continued till the end of the XIII. century.

The full account of the first crusade, by Albert of Aix la Chapelle, which Sybel brought into discredit, has been redeemed by Kugler,² who finds in it, amid much legendary material, the actual account of some man of Lorraine, who went on the crusade with Godfrey, and made his home in Palestine after the conquest. This story of an eye-witness he sifts out of Albert's narrative, and finds in it our most reliable history of the campaign. The account of Anna Commena is corrected, and we learn that Greek ambassadors cordially invited Boemund to come to the court in Constantinople. There was a conference of princes and other leaders before the city, not a convocation of all the pilgrims, as Sybel describes it, to determine how to cross to Asia. The statement is correct that only one ship was manned by Greeks, the rest being worked by

¹ Cf. *Croisades Bourguignonnes contre les Sarrazins d'Espagne au XI^e Siècle*, par E. Petit, *Revue Historique*, 1886, p. 11.

² *Albert von Aachen*, Stuttgart, 1885.

Franks. Anna and the Gesta speak only of Greeks. New details are learned about the siege of Nice. An engineer of Lombardy built the successful instrument of assault. The account of the conflict with Kerbogha of Mosul corrects Sybel in many particulars. In the first struggle Godfrey was defeated. The crusaders then proposed that the Emir should accept Christianity when they would become his vassals, or that a chosen number of knights from each side should appeal to God in battle. The first of these proposals we learn for the first time from the Lorraine Chronicle. Of the crusade of 1101 in Asia Minor, the Lorraine Chronicle gives nearly all the reliable information which we have.

A recent writer on the fourth crusade¹ holds that the seizure of Constantinople by the Latins was the greatest crime of the Middle Ages, for it was the first step toward the overthrow of the Greek and the introduction of the Turkish power in Europe.

¹ *The Fall of Constantinople, Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade*, by E. Pears, New York, 1886.

CHAPTER III.

THE MODERN CHURCH.

I. THE REFORMATION.

THE Reformation research of our day is showing more and more the origin of that great movement by tracing the mental and religious ferment of those times along all the line where the old and the new met in transition.¹ The recent study of the correspondence of Justus Jonas² puts us afresh into the very atmosphere of the great movement and makes us feel how men were exercised by the new impulses in church and religion. In the full blaze of Luther's leadership other men have been thrown into obscurity whom careful research is showing to have greatly influenced him and the times. Such were Spalatin and Bugenhagen, whose four hundredth anniversary (b. 1485) has brought his wide activity into prominence. There were many martyrs of the reformation whose lives and sufferings are just coming into the light.

These side studies show not only a corrupt papacy but also deep piety in many simple men. There was monkish ignorance, but the relatively high culture which the Renaissance brought comes also more into prominence. The unrest among the people in the fifteenth century, which came to a head later in the Peasant's War, arose not merely from poverty but from systematic oppression by princes,

¹Cf. *Zu den Aufgaben der heutigen reformations-geschichtlichen Forschung*, von F. Nippold, in *Zft. f. wiss. Theologie*, 1886, H. III.

²*Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas*, von G. Kawerau, II. Hälfte, Halle, 1885.

nobles and cities alike. To this must be added the almost utter lack of culture among the masses whom the Renaissance did not touch.¹ The peasants' condition was equally bad in the time of Luther.² In France, on the other hand, the peasants seem to have been about as well off in the Middle Ages as they are to-day.³ In the Empire, war was often the normal condition and rulers were frequently at peace only because they had no money to support their troops. We learn that Charles V, through the Reformation conflict, was retarded often by lack of funds as much as by the Pope, the Protestants, the Turk or the King of France.⁴

Turning towards the Reformers themselves, we find that recent study throws some new light upon the development of Zwingli. Usteri has carried his investigations to the very books which the growing Reformer used, and gathered information from the passages underlined and the notes written on the margin.⁵ Zwingli, when a student, loved especially ancient history, poetry and mythology. His favorite books a little later were of the practical scientific, humanitarian sort; he also studied ancient models of eloquence to fit himself to be a popular speaker, learning Valerius Maximus by heart, and reading with

¹See Gotheim, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 1885, H. I.

²Cf. G. Egelhaaf, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Berlin, 1885, where he meets the wrong views of the Roman Catholic Janssen.

³*Populations agricoles de la France*, par M. H. Beaudrillart, referred to in *Révue Historique*, 1885, N. I., p. 108.

New details, but changing nothing of importance, are found in Balan's *Monumenta Seculi XVI. Historiam illustrantia*, vol. I., Clementis VII. Epistolae, etc., Oeniponte, 1885.

⁴Cf. H. Baumgarten, *Geschichte Karls V.*, Bd. I. Stuttgart, 1885.

⁵*Initia Zwinglii*, in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1885, H. IV.

affection the classics. After he graduated he turned to philosophy, but had little real love for it. He was then unexpectedly made pastor in Glarus, and soon after began the study of the Scriptures and the orthodox Fathers, being stimulated to this by Wyttenbach of Bâle. He soon knew the Vulgate almost by heart. In 1513 he began to study Greek by himself and vowed to make it a life work. This turned his attention to exegesis. In Glarus he studied also the works of John Picus de Mirandola, the literary wonder of his time, whose philosophy, together with that of the Fathers, greatly influenced Zwingli's theological thinking. He read now, too, Lambert de Monte's book on the Salvation of Aristotle, which may have helped him to his belief that noble heathen who lived before the time of Christ would be saved. These and similar works, which he now read, were full of extracts from the great philosophers, which greatly stimulated the young priest. Eck was also an admirer of Mirandola, and we find in Zwingli's library a writing of Eck's called *Oratio adversus priscam et ethnicam Philosophiam*, in which the author plays with humanist ideas. Zwingli studied also (1516) a work of Eck on predestination, a favorite subject with the Glarus pastor. We find him further studying a Commentary of Cyrill, of Alexandria, on the Gospel of John. But his great teacher in this period was Erasmus, the king of the humanists. Usteri concludes that Zwingli had not got a theoretical view of the Evangelical doctrine of salvation even in Einsiedeln, but had there only found the sources by drawing from which he could not go astray, but would be led from light to light.

Erasmus' idea of salvation was life in imitation of Christ; and this was the view of Zwingli. He followed Erasmus

further in laying stress upon the social, the humane element in Christianity. But after his study of Erasmus came New Testament studies, based on the Greek text. He also, from 1522 on, gave greater attention to Hebrew. At first he prized Origin and Jerome as equal with Augustine, but now we find him reading Faber Stapulensis' *Psalterium quincuplex*, in which he met the Neo-Platonism of Pseudo-Dionysius. Through such reading we follow the growth of his theological thinking. He loved the ethical more than the dogmatic phase of truth, yet he broke away from the ground of Erasmus and became free. The influence of Luther was felt in this turning point in his life. Zwingli did not reach Pauline doctrines of salvation so clearly and so early as is commonly stated. He reached certainty here theoretically and practically later than Luther, and reached it only gradually. But he did not consider doctrine secondary to purity in worship or church constitution, as is usually said; neither was justification by faith regarded as not of prime importance, as Kurtz still says.¹

II. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The period between 1648 and the time of Maria Theresa in Austria has just received full treatment, and we follow the reign of Charles VI. with great interest because we now see in detail the only decisive and manly struggle ever made by the house of Hapsburg against the papacy.²

Recent investigation of the times of Frederick the Great, on the other hand, show the Prussian king granting Rome

¹Cf. Baur, *Zwingli's Theologie, ihr Werden und ihr System*, Halle, 1885.

²See M. Landau, *Rom, Wien, Neapel während des Spanischen Erbfolgekrieges*, etc., Leipzig, 1885.

all possible privileges, and favoring the Jesuits in order to have his title of king recognized by the pope.¹

Another study of sources² shows the papacy urging Mary Queen of Scots to deal with the heretics as Mary of England had done. The Jesuit nuncio of Scotland traced the Revolution there to church abuses, immoral and lazy clergy, and worldly, unworthy bishops. Yet the papacy was not to blame. The infallible church can do no wrong. She did not condemn Galileo; that was done by the Inquisition. Neither was the Inquisition cruel, for its harshness came from political connections.³

That is the pseudo-liberalism of impartial research run to seed. St. George Mivart teaches that the Roman Church is fallible in matters of science.⁴ He shows that the Inquisition declared by command of Urban VIII. "that the sun is the centre of the universe and immovable is absurd." Roberts has further proven⁵ that Alexander VII. confirmed the decision condemning Galileo. The last Encyclical of Leo XIII. shows⁶ that the papacy still holds the theories of Gregory VII. and Pius IX.; while the latest practical book on Romanism⁷ abundantly illus-

¹ Lehmann, *Preussen und die katholische Kirche seit 1640*, in *Publikationen aus den Preussischen Staatsarchiven*. Bd. xviii. xxiv., Teil IVu. V., Leipzig, 1883-85.

² Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James II.* Now first printed from the original manuscripts in the Vatican, and other collections. Edinburgh, 1885.

³ Cf. Glover, *Rome and the Inquisition*, in *The North American Review*, December, 1885.

⁴ *Modern Catholics and Scientific Freedom*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1885.

⁵ *The Pontifical Decrees against the Doctrine of the Earth's Movement and the Ultramontane Defense of Them*, 1885.

⁶ *Epistola Encyclica de Civitatum Constitutione Christiana*, Freiburg I. B. 1885.

⁷ Chiniquy, *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, Chicago, 1885.

trates the merciless practice of the Catholic Church toward those whose disobedience she can punish. The truth which the Roman Church still teaches, and her powerful organization, make her a strong ally of law and order in controlling the more ignorant portion of the people; but among the educated classes her apologetic weight is not great, just because in defending Catholicism so much more than Christianity must be defended.¹ The Catholic revival in this century, born of the Revolutions, developed a Catholic apologetics, which aimed at leavening philosophy with the principle of authority, in opposition to all radical and revolutionary theories. Chateaubriand, De Maistre, Schlegel, illustrate this tendency. Newman puts it in the words, "I came to the conclusion that there was no medium in true philosophy between Atheism and Catholicism."²

But he rejects³ the statement that reason in itself is infidel, for it is but an agent under the moral sense. He could well be a theist and not be a Catholic, but the only safety lies within the infallible church. He points to the idea of a God of benevolence held a century ago, which is now interpreted to mean limited future punishment; modern Christianity, unguided by the true church, is also inclined to shun all dogma. What then is the outcome of this Romanticism in the service of Rome?⁴ Certainly not favorable. In Catholic countries religion and rational

¹ Cf. Fairbairn, *Catholicism and Apologetics*, in *The Contemporary Review*, February, 1885.

² Fairbairn, *Catholicism and Religious Thought*, in *Contemporary Review*, May, 1885.

³ Newman, *The Development of Religious Error*, in *The Contemporary Review*, October, 1885.

⁴ Fairbairn, *Reason and Religion*, in *The Contemporary Review*, December, 1885.

liberty have come to be considered incompatible; Leo XIII. is not so strong as the Curia; the doctrine of indulgences is being preached afresh by monastic orders;¹ Prussia is strong and Germany an empire; papal countries are declining, and the ultramontane powers are dependent more and more on Protestant nations; the United States are increasing at the expense of Catholicism;² and Vaticanism is declared to be a failure.³ It is even predicted that the end of the papacy is nigh, for Italy does not want Protestantism, and the Vatican system seems irreformable; hence salvation will probably come through a reformed Catholic Church apart from the papacy.⁴

III. THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN.

Three great religious leaders arose in the XVIII. century — Swedenborg,⁵ Zinzendorf and Wesley — the second of whom shared the deep fervor of the first and the organizing ability of the third. All three were at one in their desire to act as leaven in the Church, and none aimed at a separate denomination or new dividing lines. Of the life and teaching of Zinzendorf we have recently received a most thorough⁶ account. His earliest religious

¹Cf. *Zuor Charakteristik des modernen Katholicismus*, von A. Racmeister, in *Deutsch-Evang. Blätter*, 1886, H. II.

²*The Decay of Ecclesiasticism*, by R. H. Newton, in *The North American Review*, September, 1885.

³*The Failure of Vaticanism*, in *The Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1885.

⁴Cf. *Possibilities of Italian Religious Reform*, by W. C. Langdon, in *The Andover Review*, February, 1886.

⁵Cf. *Emanuel Swedenborg; a Biographical Sketch*, by J. J. G. Wilkin-son, London, 1886.

⁶Becker, *Zinzendorf im Verhältniss zu Philosophie und Kirchenthum seiner Zeit*, Leipzig, 1886.

impressions was of love to the crucified Saviour, and this historic Christ became from childhood a personal object of the deepest affection. This personal Christ in his historic form is head of the Christian Church, the real, present, individual elder of the Church. And communion with such a head is actual and real, and may be a matter of experience, as much as it was in the case of John and Jesus. The psychological medium through which this communion takes place is the imagination, in which we see especially the suffering Saviour. Such intercourse, however, is not independent of the Word, but is mediated and ruled by it. The Word is the test of the things which appear to us. Zinzendorf taught that this personal communion with Christ distinguished the Brethren from other Christians. This was the Apostolic Christianity which he wished to restore; and such a basis of communion with the Lord is the only defensive and offensive weapon of the Church. Another important principle set forth by Zinzendorf, was that the knowledge of God comes through this life communion with Christ. Knowing the bodily Christ we learn the fulness of the Godhead in him, for God cannot be known except in Christ. Creation took place through Him, hence all knowledge of God in nature comes also through the Son.

In relation to philosophy, Zinzendorf showed an interest in the men of the Illumination, and even spoke of philosophy as a regulator of spiritual life. The end of religion he found in happiness; its organ, in the emotional nature or disposition (*Gemüth*), in which God reveals himself, where man decides for or against Him, and where man, a spirit incarnate, meets Christ, God incarnate. Revelation is the approach of God to the

human emotional nature, and that within earthly history. Religion is thus the gift of God. Coming to Christianity in particular, he held that it is the religion of salvation because it offers in Christ the only sufficient revelation of God, from which alone all religious benefits and moral impulses can be gained. Revelation here is in the Scriptures and the *Gemüth* must decide for it and for Christ in it. Different parts of the Bible are of different value as they have more or less relation to Christ. Thus building solely on Christ, he called his teaching "pure theology," and held that his followers would survive all churches, because they rested upon this one great fundamental. He followed the Illumination in laying stress on Christianity as a means to temporal as well as eternal happiness, but it is important to notice, what Becker now makes clear for the first time, that Zinzendorf as late as 1746, *i. e.* until he was influenced by the Moravians, anticipated somewhat the position of Kant and Ritschl in sharply separating philosophy and religion. He followed Pietism in demanding free religious association and communion within the existing churches — even to organization — though separate churches were not meant. He was not, as often stated, a mystic ; but defends strongly the historic faith. In fact, through Dippel's attack on the imputed righteousness of Christ, Zinzendorf was led into a fuller acceptance of it. He ever labored, though opposed somewhat by the Moravians, to hold the Augsburg confession, and his followers still claim to be Lutherans, especially in putting Christ at the centre of all their creed. The essence of Lutheranism he found in, (1.) Christ, the source of life and doctrine, and (2) in faith working freely, governed by no rules. By laying stress on these principles he sought

to win men back to Lutheranism, which was not represented by the Pietist's, or the Illuminationists, or the orthodox, with their school theology.

The wider history of the Moravian movement has been treated recently by an American writer.¹ He goes back to Bohemia and finds that Wiclif's works stimulated, but did not originate the revival there. It was national. He tells us further that the Christianity taught these Slavonic tribes by Cyrill and Methodius was simple and pure compared with that of the Roman Church. This gentler gospel, he thinks, was never lost among the Czechs, but after long persecution came to light again in Conrad of Waldhausen, Matthias of Janow and Hus. The Moravian Church would thus be, more or less, a representative of Greek theology in the West.

IV. THE HUGUENOTS.

Nowhere does the saying of Schiller, *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*, find a more striking illustration than in the story of the Huguenots; for just two hundred years ago the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and now every allusion to the subject by competent scholars shows how France has been punished for that terrible crime. The only question seems to be, who was most guilty in that carnival of wrong and outrage?

Schott says:² "In the guilt of it—the revocation—king and court, clergy and officials, yes, all Catholic France had a share. Not the momentary freak of a despot caused it; much less was it the result of a plot between

¹De Schweinitz, *The History of the Church known as the Unitas Fratrum*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1885.

²*Die Aufhebung des Ediktes von Nantes in Oktober 1685*, Halle, 1885.

Pere La Chaise and Madame Maintenon. It was the outcome of a state-church system, which began with fettering the liberties of the Huguenots, and ended with their extinction." Yet the chief guilt belongs to the priesthood, and their hand can be traced in every new step of legalized robbery and death. In 1679 Louis became "converted" from the sins of his youth, and then both ambition and zeal led him, after the death of Mazarin and Cromwell, to listen to priestly pleadings to give heresy a deadly blow. The number of expatriated Huguenots is put at 300,000 to 350,000 during 1680-1700; the prisoners at 40,000, besides the numerous unknown dead. That is a sad picture to be lighted by the waning glory of France; hence recent Catholic writers are seeking to show that their clergy had no share in the revocation and the persecution; they were rather sad witnesses of a cruel state policy. Louvois was the guilty one. Puaux refutes this view,¹ and fastens the crime again upon Louis and the Catholic priesthood.

V. THE GERMAN CHURCHES.

The last synopsis of the new theology in Germany is clear and instructive.² The grand merit of the old rationalism, we are told, was that it taught men once for all to distinguish between the form and the substance in Christianity. Its great mistake, on the other hand, was in not understanding the life of past ages, and overlooking

¹*Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, in *Revue Historique*, 1885. N. II; Cf. also *Les plaintes des protestans cruellement opprimés dans le royaume de France*, Edition nouvelle avec commentaires, etc., par F. Puaux, Paris. 1885, in *Collection des classiques du protestantisme français*.

²Lüdemann, *Die neuere Entwicklung der protestantischen Theologie*, Bremen, 1885. For a satirical attack on the whole orthodox system cf. *Die theologische Carrière der Gegenwart*, Anonymous, Leipzig, 1886.

the essence of the religious inner life by declaring everything mere superstition which its reason could not grasp. Even Hegel's teaching was just a deeper and more splendid rationalism than that which it overthrew. Schleiermacher discovered the true nature of religion, and thereby healed the great wound from which modern theology suffered. Religion, he showed, is a matter of the emotional life (*Gemüthsleben*), and not a thing of the cold understanding, as the eighteenth century taught. It is the moral consciousness face to face with the Infinite. This view, we are assured, is now supported by Comparative Religion at every step. Religious doctrines are, accordingly, but a means to nourish the inner life; and, as circumstances change, this life can clothe itself in the different forms of thought and culture which may successively appear. To this changing garment belong doctrinal views, which may be laid aside for others without touching the essence of Christianity in the heart of man; for this consists in the feeling of dependence, which, in Christianity, has found application to the purest and clearest needs of man, the struggle for the moral ideal, and that by teaching that the dependence is that of a child upon a parent. Religion rooted in feeling is independent of all doctrinal tenets. That is the standing ground of the new theology. But this foundation goes much deeper than that of the old rationalism with its cold reason, and holds that the religious life of the advanced school is the same which was wisely expressed by our fathers in their dogmas and usages. The circumstances made such an expression then proper and wise, though all this was a sealed book to the old rationalism.

In reply to the question, How did this profound religious

principle ever get into the mind of Jesus Christ? Lüdemann has nothing more definite to say than that the depths of genius are unfathomable. This is the only theology, it is repeated, which can mediate between modern science and religion, and in its service there is great reward. Yet the essay closes with the complaint that the liberal theologians are being driven more and more from the German universities, and that the pearls of the new Evangel seem to be cast before swine.

The dark side of German church life—with its State interference, clericalism, parishes with 50,000 souls, Sunday profanity, increasing crime, rationalism and materialistic philosophy, is familiar to all; the bright side, however, should also be familiar, the pulpit more Biblical and practical than ever, churches better attended, Christianity more respected, devotional literature increasing, laymen more active in Christian work, evangelists abroad, with a school started by Prof. Christlieb in Bonn to train them, Sunday schools growing, young men's Christian associations spreading, and signs everywhere that the downward tendency has ceased and that a strong upward tendency has taken its place.¹

Many earnest men are longing for one Evangelical Church for the Empire to take the place of the thirty Lutheran or Union State church systems which now divide German Christians. Wangemann works in this direction, though now fighting Separationists as he once did Unionists. His severe words, however, about the old Lutherans²

¹Cf. *Religious Condition of Germany*, by J. H. W. Stuckenberg, in *Andover Review*, Oct., 1885; also *Present Aspect of Religion and Theology in Germany*, by J. T. Bixby, in *The Unitarian Review*, Feb. and March, 1886.

²Cf. *Current Discussions*, vol. iii. 1885, p. 196.

seem to need modification. Von Treitschke says¹ that Wangemann has not essentially changed the opinion held about the liturgy controversy in Prussia. His attempt to justify the action of the king is not successful. He goes too far also in holding that the Lutheran Church in Prussia remains free, independent and consistent within the Union.² The history of the Separate Lutherans, also, who came to America, shows devotion and closer conformity to the teachings of Luther than Wangemann seems to admit.³

It sounds well to hear the Missouri brethren say that "The Word of God is the only judge in controversy and the perfect source of Christian faith." Election of grace, the freedom of the local church as the only possessor of spiritual gifts and power, these principles are set forth by the Old Lutherans with vigor, and with arguments that recall Luther against Eck and Erasmus. "The difference between the New Lutherans and Romanists and the real Old Lutherans lies," according to Hochstetter, "in the reply to the question: With whom is the original spiritual power, the power of the keys, which embraces all church government? The Old Lutherans hold Christ gave it to each congregation with Word and sacrament in its midst, for where two or three gather in His name they have His authority to ordain a preacher, for they are all spiritual priests and need no authority from pope or bishop or synod to edify and govern themselves." Prof. Walther teaches that the Synod has a power of advisory legislation only; and he argues with much cogency in favor of the

¹*Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, iii. Theil, Leipzig, 1885.

²Cf. *Wangemann's Sieben Bücher von der Una Sancta*, von Baumann, in *Deutsch-Evangel. Blätter*, 1886, H. V.

³See *Die Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Missouri Synode in Nord-Amerika und ihrer Lehrkämpfe*, von C. Hochstetter, Dresden, 1885.

Augustinian doctrines of Luther as against the Arminian teachings of the present Lutheran Church of Germany.

VI. CHURCH LIFE IN HOLLAND.

In Holland the State has cut loose from Christianity, but supports the Churches, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish; every restriction is thrown off, and here is a field for the full play of theological and ecclesiastical theories.¹ Over two millions of the people call themselves Reformed; there are one hundred and thirty thousand Christian Reformed, seventy thousand Lutherans, forty-six thousand Mennonites, and about six thousand Remonstrants. The Lutherans have been for a century rationalistic, and have lost the respect of earnest Christians, though now there are signs of improvement, twenty-nine of sixty-two Lutheran pastors being reported as conservative. The Augsburg Confession, however, is given up as the creed of the Church. The Remonstrants began as Arminians; but have now become so liberal under such a leader as Prof. Tiele of Leyden, that their object since 1879 is "to promote religious life on the basis of the gospel of Jesus Christ, by holding fast to the principle of liberty and toleration." In sharp contrast to these stands the Christian Reformed Church, which separated from the Reformed, 1834, and took its present name, 1870. They hold the Reformed Confession, sing only Psalms, and have started a theological school, with eighty students, in Kampen. They are active Christians.

We now turn to the theological tendencies in Holland. At the tercentenary jubilee of the University of Leyden, 1875, the rector recommended that the theological Faculty

¹For this section cf. *Holland's kirchliches Leben*, von J. Gloël, Wittenberg, 1885.

should be put out of the institution. This was not done, but it was decided that churchly theology should no longer be taught in State universities. Dogmatics and Practical Theology were counter to the neutral character of the University; they must go; but Church History and Exegesis might remain. So the Faculty of Theology was made a Faculty of Religious Science; the subject is to be treated historically, and from the standpoint of Comparative Religion.

Four professors now teach (1) The Philosophy and History of Religion, (2) Church History, (3) The Old Testament, and (4) The New Testament. Dogmatic and Practical Theology are left to the care of the Churches. Ethics will still be taught in the University—Christian or philosophical, as the professor chooses. To meet this new state of affairs, the Reformed Church appointed a professor of theology and professor of practical theology at each of the four universities, who should supplement the work done by the State, when the strange fact appeared, that the professors appointed by the rationalistic Church were not so orthodox as those appointed by the State. Widespread dissatisfaction followed, and, to satisfy more earnest men, a Christian university was founded, 1880, in Amsterdam.

Gloël distinguishes the following schools of theology in Holland: First, the Ideal-deterministic school in Leyden. Its centre and leader was Scholten (d. 1885), who taught what he considered a legitimately developed Calvinism. Through reason we reach the knowledge of God, and on this God revealed in reason faith rests (Intellectualism). The determinism of his teaching is ethical, and rests upon the absolute sovereignty of God, from which all that is must be explained in its unity. And since free will in man

is not in harmony with this principle, we must give up asserting it, for sin is not to be explained from the freedom of man, but from the divinely ordered natural imperfection of man, which cannot develop to perfection without conflict and fall. But with this very human weakness God has connected the necessary victory over it, which takes place through the perfect religiousness revealed in Christ, and coming to us by faith. Christ is not the object of our faith, but is the true believer, who has perfectly accepted divine truth and become our perfect pattern. His piety exerts such an influence on the moral nature of men that it cannot be permanently resisted: all men will finally be blessed, and the will of God reach its goal. All supernatural views of theology are rejected in the Leyden school, where the pupils of Scholten and Kuenen have drifted fast from liberal theology towards bitter unbelief. A second school is built on the Sceptical-empirical philosophy, whose chief teacher is Prof. Opzoomer, in Utrecht. He holds that the only way to certainty is observation; the only sure thing is what we reach by experiment. A. Pierson has applied this teaching to theology, and says that the right position here is to leave all doctrinal statements open to question. Like many other divines of this school, he has left theology for more secular work, and now lectures in Amsterdam on the History of Art. Dogmatism, he thinks, is everywhere on its death-bed, because everywhere, in science as well as religion, certainty is impossible. The chief study is history. The only satisfaction is that man should be his own goal and seek to become noble. Worship will then be æsthetics and art our Heaven. For twenty years this Empirical school has led the thought of the Dutch Church, because of the ability of its professors;

but it has failed to touch the mass of the people, or lead young men into the ministry, or save itself from steady decline. A third school is the Evangelical. This middle tendency, with its seat in Groninger, has sought the things of peace, but with diminishing numbers and success. Supernaturalism and Naturalism were to be united here on the ground of a theology of Humanity. Lessing's idea was abroad; the end of God's loving plan was considered to be the education of man into likeness to God. Sin hinders, but cannot frustrate this growth, for Christ is the great Teacher; His life and death assure us of the forgiving and sanctifying love of God; and His resurrection gives us the hope of perfection. Perfection of the human race through Christ has remained the leading thought of this middle school, and the description of Christianity as a religion of redemption is rejected as wrong. The being of Christianity is not centered in sin and grace, but in the life of God in Christ, and the union of man and God effected by His Spirit .

This school is breaking up, and its different sections are drifting towards the orthodox or the rationalists.

The fourth school, the Orthodox, while agreeing in fundamentals, differ much on particular questions. Gloël divides them into pietistic, biblical-apologetical, and confessional groups. The first lay great stress on the ethical in Christianity, resembling here the Evangelicals; they differ, however, widely in making regeneration the great principle, and not the "education of humanity," thus recognizing sin as much more than ignorance, and the work of Christ as much more than teaching. Chantepie, a leader in this group, laid great stress on the Christian consciousness, as the mind of the regenerate man and made this

the creative principle and standard in theology. The obligatory in theology is what is approved in the Christian consciousness, assimilated by it, and which raises it higher. Here takes place that union of God with man which forms the essence of Christianity. This school is active at the universities and among the clergy. The younger men of the party apply the "ethical principle" so as to make the inner consciousness a standard of belief, and the Bible rather a means of grace. A doctrine is to be believed, not because taught in Scripture, but because it is approved by the voice of God in the soul. Hence chief stress is laid in exegesis upon the psychological analysis of the word of Scripture. The higher criticism of Kuenen and Wellhausen is accepted, though with more reverence than in the radical school. This Old Testament criticism and the free treatment of the historic in Christianity have provoked much opposition to this school, as dissolving truth into individual subjectivity.

The Biblical-apologetic group includes the majority of the moderate orthodox under the lead of Van Oosterzee (d. 1882). He was a "pectoral"¹ theologian of the type of Neander. His pupils, Prof. Doedes in Utrecht and Van Toorenenbergen in Amsterdam are continuing this mild apologetic school.

The Confessional-Reformed party represents orthodox Calvinism and Pietism. Its leader is Kuyper, the most prominent man to-day in Holland—a politician, theologian, and popular champion of orthodoxy. He studied all through the modern theology, and found no rest till he reached the historic faith. He then preached

¹The term comes from the saying of Neander: "It is the heart (pectus) that makes the theologian."

the old doctrines in his country parish, with such good result that he has given his life to the work of reform and restoration. He preached next in the Hague, became a journalist, member of parliament, and is now head of the Christian University in Amsterdam—everywhere active against “Moderns” and “Ethicals,” and “Higher Critics,” and rousing men to return to the old godliness and faith. The school of Leyden is already waning. Next, says Kuyper, the Ethicals must go, with their Schleiermacher pantheistic vagueness. Lutheran errors must be weeded out, and Bible and Calvinism restored. He rejects all distinctions between the Bible and the Word of God; to reject the Word is to be a traitor to God. The Bible is not to be filtered through the inner consciousness, but accepted as a letter or will, in which every word is important and to be acted upon. It is a fatal mistake to try to divide the human and divine sides in revelation, and claim the former as a field for boundless criticism. The common people follow Kuyper, also some ministers, and a few of the upper classes. The movement is growing. There are fifty students under his instruction, most of them studying for the ministry. The national pulpits are not yet legally open for young men from this free university, but already twenty churches have promised to take them, even if they lose State aid by doing so. Thus the revival goes on, stimulated by the ruin which rationalism has wrought. Of 1,611 churches in Holland, nearly 300 have no pastors, because many rationalistic ministers gave up preaching. Sixty ministers a year are needed, but in 1884 only thirty young men entered upon dy of theology.

VII. THE CHURCHES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The rise of the Protestant Church in Britain is losing much of its romance, but is gaining greater truthfulness in all its elements by recent historic research. In the correspondence of Henry VIII. we can now trace¹ year by year all the human relations and plans of emperor, pope and king. They appear very unlike the "defender of the faith," the holy Roman emperor, and the vicar of Christ. The reign of Edward VI. was also less heroic than we think. In the social revolution, which then elevated the middle classes of the people and gave England her Protestant Church, much early beauty was lost, though much greater freedom was gained.² The leading characters, such as Cranmer, appear less ideal and more time-serving than in the heroic light usually shed upon them; while the men of resolve and purpose, such as Gardiner and Bonner, are found rather in the service of the old faith. This view robs the birth period of the English Church of much of the sacredness with which it is usually regarded, but helps toward a better apprehension of it. The long and bitter struggle for uniformity had its roots in just the time-serving elements hitherto too much overlooked in the earlier history. Local liturgies were also very powerful. It took years to get the people to give up Latin prayers and accept them in English.³ Through the seventeenth century the battle of the old and the new went on. There were, however, many sweet spirits, like Bunyan, who rose

¹*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, in the Master of the Rolls Series. Vols. V.-VIII. 1880-85.

²Cf. R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*. Vol. III., London, 1885.

³See *Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549*, by E. Pocock, Camden Society, 1885.

above party hate. He was a kind of Baptist himself, but his children were baptized in the parish church.¹ His godly heart taught him more than he could have learned among the polemic divines of his age. And yet we are now finding out that the Church of those days was marked by more activity, learning and zeal, as can be seen in the religious and benevolent societies of the last part of the century, than have been usually ascribed to that period.² The eighteenth century has been divided into a non-religious period, before Wesley, a religious period, begun by Methodism, and an anti-religious period, which followed.³ Then came the great awakening and theological activity of recent history, of which Tulloch has just given us a graphic account from the Broad Church point of view.⁴

Coleridge was the leading influence in the early years of this century in England. He gave a definite impulse to current Christian ideas, to Biblical study, and to the conception of the Church. He made religion subjective, a full development of humanity rather than something added to it, and included all knowledge as part of religion. The Evangelical School of Newton, Foster and Wilberforce, we are told, "destroyed the largeness and unity of human experience," not only by separating religion from art and philosophy, but by tending to separate it from morality also. Coleridge harmonized religion and reason, opposing both materialistic negation and credulous enthusiasm. His faith was "a living expression of the spiritual con-

¹ Cf. Brown's *Life of John Bunyan*, London, 1885.

² Cf. Overton, *Life in the English Church (1660-1714)*, London, 1885, a sort of biographical dictionary of the lay and clerical leaders of the period.

³ Cf. J. W. Mendenhall, in *The Methodist Review*, Nov. 1885.

⁴ *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1885.

sciousness." The divinity of the Bible is in its spirit, and when this spirit speaks it is responded to by the spirit of man. Of the Church, Coleridge taught that it is catholic and not national. This universal church has its local manifestation in the national church, which should include among its clerisy not only the clergy, but the learned of all denominations.

The disciples of Coleridge, Julius Hare, John Sterling, and later, Edward Irving, Maurice and Kingsley made these teachings popular and widespread.

A second movement of religious thought arose in "The Early Oriel School and its Congeners," in which, from 1820 on, Copleston, Whately, Arnold, Milman and their followers made Oxford a fountain-head of so-called Noetic thinking. This school was critical and historical. Whately called Apostolic succession "Apostolic fiddlesticks." Clerical priesthood, verbal inspiration and the Old Testament Sabbath were thrown aside together. He fought both Puritanism and Sacerdotalism; he assailed both Anglo-Catholicism and German Rationalism. Arnold made this view of Christianity very plain, and applied it to every-day needs. He would have Church and State one in their full development, and the national church should include all denominations.

The publication of Schleiermacher's essay on Luke by Thirlwall (1825) was "an epoch in the history of English theology," and stirred the quiet British air by the first drops of a German thunder-shower. The critical sifting of Biblical books began; Milman carried this method into his historic works, and the Noetic school cleft asunder in its course traditional and vital Christianity, laying great stress upon the essential, immutable truth in Christ.

A third movement was the Anglo-Catholic, which succeeded the Noetic at Oxford, and was led by Keble, R. H. Froude and Pusey. It was a reaction against the Romanticism of the Lake school of Scott and Coleridge, and was a return toward Catholicism, as the only refuge from Rationalism. The *Tracts for the Times* fought for dogma, a visible Church, and the Anglican Church as the true Church. Many of this school landed in Romanism, but the Anglo-Catholic movement remains perhaps the greatest fact in the history of recent Anglican Christianity. It has broadened the sympathy of its followers in both directions, giving them more charity for the Church of Rome, and less severity for Nonconformists. The spiritual unity and independence of the Church are more preached, and Erastianism is hated as an unclean thing. There is, moreover, more preaching of salvation and more love for sinners. This movement has also greatly influenced English Catholics, and they have now become English as never before since the Reformation.

A parallel religious movement took place in Scotland, where the Romanticism of Scott, Carlyle's Gospel of Work, and the theology of Thomas Erskine, Macleod Campbell and Edward Irving were influencing religious thinking. Erskine taught that divine truth must be reasonable, and as such must approve itself to the Christian consciousness. Religion must always be its own light, for if it is real it must be self-evidencing by its good effects. Thus, external evidences were largely ignored, and, like Schleiermacher and Coleridge, Erskine taught the theology of the Christian consciousness. Macleod Campbell in Scotland and Maurice in England carried out this teaching, especially Erskine's later view of the

essential character of the gospel as a revelation of divine love. During ten years (1820-30) a revolution had taken place in much of the religious thinking of Britain. The New Theology, which came in, Tulloch sums up thus: "Its character may be said to be expansiveness. There is a general breaking-up of the traditional systems transmitted from the earlier time. The idea of God as the loving Father of all men, of the religious life as having its root in immediate contact with the divine, rather than in adherence to any definite forms, whether of Church belief or Church order; the recognition of the religious consciousness as a pervading element of human nature, with its own rights in the face of Revelation, and especially in the face of the scholastic dogmas which had been based on Revelation, * * * and more than all, perhaps, an optimist Catholic ideal displacing the sectarian ideals of the older schools of thought" — all these mark the new tendency.

The last great movement, that of the Broad Church, arose in this way. The Anglo-Catholic party as it drifted towards Rome, opposed every form of Liberalism; the result was a reaction toward utter unbelief. The Mills, father and son, Darwinism, and the teaching of Spencer, show how the current ran toward blank negation. The Broad Church school appeared to deliver Christianity from this new foe. Maurice, Kingsley, F. Robertson and Stanley led in this effort to save religion though it should lose theology. Maurice taught "that every man is in Christ; and the condemnation of every man is that he will not own the truth." Every man is a Christian; let him believe it and act accordingly. That is the very opposite of the usual doctrine that all men are born out of Christ, must repent

and become sons of God. On such a basis Maurice sought to unite all Christians. The stress, however, should be laid on what all believe, the centre and test being life in Christ, without whom none is a Christian or is to be received.

Tulloch ignores the Evangelical School. It did not present anything new; there is, also, some truth in the statement that this movement produced "no theologian even of the second rank," and that "from the time when the Church was mainly under their influence the separation between religion and learning may be dated."¹ He fails, on the other hand, to follow Broad Churchism through the "Essays and Reviews" and the "Scotch Sermons," in which a spirit appears hostile to doctrine and primitive teaching of all sorts, and which lands its followers in pretty clear view of Unitarianism, Theism and Humanitarianism.²

VIII. THE AMERICAN CHURCHES.

It is as true in America as in Scotland and Holland, that the Augustinian theology still makes itself felt along the lines of historic development. The doctrines of the New England divines partook of the decisiveness of their authors' characters, but at the same time showed a philosophic freedom and logical analysis in reaching ultimate principles which later writers often do not recognize.³ For

¹Cf. *The History of Religion in England*, by H. O. Wakeman, London, 1885.

²For the recent history of the Church of Ireland see, *The Church of Ireland*, by H. Seddall, Dublin, 1886, and for the earlier, *Ireland under the Tudors*, by R. Bagwell, London, 1885.

³Cf. F. Foster, *The Eschatology of the New England Divines*, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January and April, 1886; and, on later questions, *The History of Andover Theological Seminary*, by L. Woods, Boston, 1885.

example, Edwards, when treating eternal punishment, took the high ground that such punishment is philosophically just, and is to be held against both annihilation and final restoration. Bellamy added the idea of vindictive justice in divine punishment, this justice being but God's love as a consuming fire against sin. He also showed that the heathen have a sufficient probation in this life. Chauncy taught (1743) the restoration of all men through remedial punishment hereafter, and was answered by Dr. Jonathan Edwards. The doctrinal system of the early divines is still largely accepted, but its teachings have lost in definiteness and intensity. Current theology in our day is said¹ to be marked by (1) familiar subjects of thought "having become fixed, they have largely lost their fresh interest as living issues in relation to living needs, and are thus mainly historical questions," (2) by "critical investigations now emphasizing questions belonging to the Beginnings, and (3) by a large and increasing place being given to Christ as a personal power in the believer's heart." Or, it is said,² that as Christianity in the past won victories preaching the duty of Christ, it is now turning to final conquest in proclaiming Him as type and symbol of a Divine Humanity; this is a peaceful growth as the Trinitarian controversy was one of war. The weak points of evangelical faith are found to be³ sectarianism, a more or less disintegration of the formulated evangelical faith, which may be due to an ideal rather than real presentation of God,

¹ *Current Theology*, in *The New Englander*, November, 1885, by S. S. Martin.

² H. N. Brown, *The Divine Humanity*, in *The Unitarian Review*, July, 1885.

³ W. W. Patton, *Weak Points of the Evangelical Faith as it is commonly stated*, in *The New Englander*, January, 1886.

insistence on a "regulation piety," too severe reasoning from metaphysical and ethical principles respecting divine relations and action, an unbiblical weakness which adopts theories centering the human race in Adam rather than in Christ, and a failure to connect religion with the daily life of man. The last weakness here enumerated, and the worst, seems, however, to cling just as tenaciously to the most advanced theology as to the orthodox teaching. Destructive criticism, we are told,¹ has done its work, the ground has been plowed, the true seed sown, and it is time to look for harvest along the line of constructive effort. The need now is self-conscious, organized religious fellowship beyond what radical theology has yet attained. The religious training of children after the manner of the Episcopal Church is especially recommended in the service of advanced thought. On the other hand, the extreme Unitarians of the West have sought, during the past year, to put themselves abreast of the times by refusing to make even the recognition of God a test of Church membership, thus seeming to meet on the low plane of mere ethical companionship.

The growth of the Episcopal Church in this country, especially the moderate form of it, shows a similar, but much more conservative, contact of Christian thought with the ideas of the time. One half of the 3,572 Episcopal ministers in America were brought up in other communions. The comprehensiveness of the Episcopal Church, we are told, makes her "everywhere the residuary legatee of other bodies." Her membership has increased twenty per cent., while the population increased ten per cent., and

¹Cf. *Confirmation*, by S. C. Beach, in *The Unitarian Review*, January, 1886.

her influence is growing fast. On the other hand, we learn¹ that the most characteristic feature of the Episcopal Church in our land is the inevitable "Congregational system tempered with Episcopacy" which marks it. The tradition of the Pilgrim Fathers is too strong even for Apostolic Succession. A further concession is more surprising; in reference to the needs of the laboring classes, the Church in England is said to be "asleep," but in America she is still "snoring." The negatively broad creed of the Unitarian churches and the positively comprehensive faith of the Episcopal Church seem still far from meeting the thought and every-day life of the times any more effectively than the belief and practice of ordinary orthodox denominations. Still, in the face of Materialism, which Robert Buchanan calls² the god of American boasting, and of political and business life, the two currents of our activity which most need cleansing, Farrar continues to repeat³ that the Church can fulfill her true mission only in the full spirit of Tolerance, Freedom and Progress, "for it is the special work of the Church in these days to teach a true and an intelligent, as opposed to a delusive and obsolete view of religion."⁴

¹ *The Church in the United States of America*, in *The Church Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1886.

² *Free Thought in America*, in *The North American Review*, April, 1885.

³ *The Work of the Church in America*, in *The North American Review*, Jan., 1886.

⁴ For new information with special reference to the Presbyterian Church in America, cf. *The Days of Makemie*, by L. P. Bowen, Philadelphia, 1885; *Church History in Brief*, by J. C. Moffat, Philadelphia, 1885, and *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada*, by W. Gregg, Toronto, 1885.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

**DOGMATIC THEOLOGY,
APOLOGETICS, THEISM AND ETHICS.**

BY

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SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

No marked publications in the department of Systematic Theology have fallen under our observation during the past year. Two works of no little interest, however, are awaiting perusal, viz., Dorner's Ethics and Strong's Systematic Theology. We have no space for them at present, but they will be noticed hereafter. We must confine our attention the present year to a few unpretending works, some of which, however, treat of topics of the first importance. We will begin our survey with a glance at works treating of the new departure in theology.

I. ALLEGED IMPROVEMENTS IN THEOLOGY.

I. *New Theology*.¹

The work of Rev. J. B. Heard under this title is worthy of notice because of the subject of which he treats, rather than for the value of the material which he presents. There is indeed no lack of ability in the author, no lack of learning, but a want of method, a failure to present his views clearly, naturally and comprehensively. He calls his work "A Constructive Critique," but he should either have given a definite system to criticise, or have made his own teachings a system. Still, as this is a careful exhibition of the new, the coming, the needed theology, we are grateful for the service the author has rendered. Any reader will see the similarity of the new theology as here

¹*Old and New Theology*, By Rev. J. B. Heard, A. M., Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1885.

delineated and that bearing the same name in this country. Still the advocates of the latter are not in any way to be held responsible for the views contained in the book before us. It is instructive, however, to notice what an able, candid and learned theologian supposes to be involved in a rounded system embracing the new doctrines recognized alike in this country and abroad. We shall not follow the order of argumentation adopted by the author, but present an outline of his views in an order which will render them, as we think, most readily apprehensible.

The author discards the doctrine of dualism in philosophy, the doctrine that the objects of our knowledge fall into two great departments mutually exclusive of each other, viz., Matter and Spirit, and holds to the system of monism. The universe is, he assumes, at every point a manifestation of a force which is the essence of the whole. "We have gone back in one sense to the old Platonic conception of the universe as a great living thing. What in Spinoza was an evil dream of science yet unborn, is now a sober reality. Instead of conceiving of God as a Being above and outside the universe, the transcendent Deity of the past, men now think of Him as the immanent and living center of Force, the battery, so to speak with reverence, whence proceed all the forces of the universe."¹ "Matter is simply the form in which some formative principle, which is force in its primary conception and God in its ultimate, clothes itself."²

Such a scheme does away with any distinction, other than verbal, between the natural and the supernatural,

¹ P. 57.

² P. 60

between the spiritual and the material, and makes soul and body one—the body the clothing which the soul forms for itself. As God covers Himself with light as with a garment, so the soul clothes itself for this life with a natural body—flesh—and will clothe itself hereafter with a spiritual body—the body of the resurrection. This philosophy has also its own method of explaining miracles. They are exhibitions of force latent in nature, but not yet understood. They are anticipations of developments yet to be realized—manifestations of laws of which the coming ages will avail themselves. No intelligent man, it is said, now speaks of miracles as violations of the laws of nature, though we see not yet all things put under man. Christ was able to work miracles because he kept himself in intimate sympathy with the will of the Father, the Force that is immanent in the world. “What is to-day a miracle may be to-morrow a market produce.”¹

This monistic philosophy has a simple way of disposing of some difficult problems. It makes creation and redemption manifestations of one Force in one line of operation, redemption being, in fact, only a part of creation. The distinction between natural theology and revealed theology is to be rejected; the distinction between nature and grace is wholly artificial; salvation is simply one of the results appearing in the evolution of the primal force. The offices of the different persons of the Trinity are simply modes of the manifestation which force makes of itself. “Thus creation and redemption are in reality only stages of one great process, which is the successive manifestation of God as Light, Life, Love, or, as we say in the language of

¹P. 79.

Scripture, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Theism which is not triune, is thus no theism at all."¹

The author considers that correct views of the fatherhood of God are indispensable to the new theology. Heretofore it has been held that Christ only is the real son of God, and that men become sons only by adoption. But it is to be maintained that all men are by nature sons of God; sonship is their inalienable birthright, theirs because of their descent from Adam. They become conscious of this relation to God through the second Adam, perhaps, would be able to recognize it in no other way than through union with Him; but it is a fact inherent in humanity itself, based on a dormant faculty, the waking of which is regeneration. Waking the consciousness of sonship in the human race is the sufficient reason for the incarnation of Christ."² To this assertion the author appends another, that our *belief* of the incarnation rests on that ground. He probably had misgivings in ascribing the incarnation to a final cause, since evolution dominates the universe; still with him divine fatherhood and human sonship are the center of a true scheme of theology. In the development of this truth he has, as he evidently believes, done his chief service to this science. "We must look out for some element in man's nature in which soul, or our intellectual self, is sublimated into spirit, and which is as much above self-consciousness as sense is below it. In this upper air of God-consciousness there is born in us instinctively the sense that we, too, are his offspring."³ This faculty is the spirit—*πνευμα* in Greek—as distin-

¹P. 81.

²P. 8.

³P. 86.

guished from soul and body. This missing link in the elements of our being, for which the author says he began to search more than twenty years ago, he has treated of in his work, *The Tripartite Nature of Man*, which reached its fifth edition in 1882. When this faculty is roused to activity, man becomes a new creature, feels himself akin to God, and lives the life of religion.

How an author can make such a distinction between soul and spirit, when he makes none between soul and body, and how he bases sonship to God on this faculty, when it is no more than matter and mind an emanation from God, he has not explained, but he evidently has strong convictions on this point.

The effect of the divine fatherhood upon God's dealings with men is to be considered not less than this natural relationship. The Father is the Educator of His children. The supposition of a governmental relation between God and His children is to be discarded. The idea that there are covenant relations subsisting between God and man, so that God must do this or that, in order to fulfill an obligation, is out of date. That men are to secure a promised good by keeping an implied contract is merely transferring a false human theory to our relations to God. That God must take measures to save His character as a Ruler, if He ever departs from the letter of the law, is a childish supposition. The author speaks of Israel as a covenant people — a sentiment hardly in accord with his general views, it seems to us — but a covenant theology he treats as quite too antiquated to deserve respectful notice. His view of the divine freedom in the treatment of men seems to be that sometimes called the Middle-Age view: God can do as He pleases. He has put Himself under no

restraints, no one can put Him under restraints, and He is at full liberty to exercise all fatherly kindness, to gratify His own longing desires, to punish or pardon, to caress or repel, as best suits His feelings.

The author's view of sin separates him widely from orthodox Christians. He does not accept the idea that the atonement delivers man from sin as a whole, therefore does not accept the Protestant doctrine of justification. Sin is a disease which is to be cured — cured, in part, at least, by punishment. "Any doctrine of future punishment, which is to commend itself to a humanitarian age like ours, must have these two characteristics: It must be retributive and remedial; also, the one must pass into the other."¹ Sin is like a parasite on a vine, which kills the plant unless it is destroyed. To extirpate this disease is the problem of grace.² The author does not admit the total depravity of men, yet thinks there is a certain propriety in the doctrine that Adam fell, and, apparently, still more, that men are born in sin — the disease of sin is inherent. Why the disease is not more easily and quickly cured he admits to be unaccountable, but believes that the remedy will be, in the end, substantially effective, that it will accomplish much of its appointed work in the future life. He has no doubt that evil is one of the resorts of the Deity in the development of the universe, and that it will be, in some way, finally eradicated. "As all evil is only the instrument for the production of higher good, man and his fall become the platform for a higher manifestation still, which we call redemption."³ "What we cannot surrender is the very opposite truth [*i. e.*, the

¹ P. 18.² P. 258.³ P. 81.

opposite of immortality], that evil is something instantly self-destructive, and carrying with it the principle of its own dissolution. If men could see this truth, half of their difficulties as to the duration and extent of future punishments would melt away."¹ It is somewhat difficult to reconcile this moderate view of sin, as a disease to which we are subject by birth, with other statements which the author makes. He considers that we are shut up to one of the following explanations of the existence of evil: Either we sinned in a former state, and are sent here for punishment; or "we start fair at birth, and life is a preparation for a higher state of being. As for the troubles that we meet with and overcome in life, they are chastisements sent by our Heavenly Father to discipline us, and to purge our spirits from the dross of fleshly-mindedness."² It is clear, whatever may be his prevailing sentiment, that he does not attach much of guilt to sin.

The author says we must look at the atonement in the light of the incarnation, not the incarnation in the light of the atonement. This must mean that the incarnation, the appearance of the second Adam, wakens into activity the spirit, the *pneuma*, which is also the God-consciousness, and in this way leads to reconciliation with God. But on this point he is by no means as explicit as he should be. The author gives the most important place, practically, in his system of doctrine to education — *i. e.*, the education to which we are subjected under the watchful care of the Father. He thinks, if Adam fell, as in a certain sense he did, that the Father then entered upon a severer course of discipline with him, but kept on in the career already begun, and that he accomplished his education by more

¹ P. 257.² P. 222.

efficient means than those intended for one who had not sinned. Adam was driven from Paradise, but that was for his good; if he had eaten of the tree of life, his diseased state might have been made immortal. His trials are more severe than they would have been if he had remained innocent, but lead finally to a higher position than he could have attained without sin. He finds the key-note to the philosophy of history in Lessing's expression: "Education is revelation"; and seems to find here the key-note of the philosophy of redemption as well. He says that he would be willing to leave the subject of the future state untouched, if the theologians had left it so, but since they have made such bad work with it, the new theology must speak. He therefore teaches that education probation, must extend into the future life, and he quotes approvingly Lessing's question: "If we have lost our opportunities in time, is there not eternity lying before us?"¹

There are several other points touched upon in the work before us, but too slightly to make it worth while to notice them, yet the author could not do the world a greater favor than by a convincing treatise upon them. If he would, after his severe criticism of individualism, show how men are saved collectively, he would do a substantial service to theology.

Why he should call his scheme a new theology we do not understand. The combination of parts may be new, but each item may be found in well-known writers, such as Dorner, and Bushnell, and Theodore Parker. The advocates of the new theology in this country — a scheme

¹ Pp. 219-225.

in some points certainly the same as that here presented — consider their theology in reality old rather than new.

2. *Progressive Orthodoxy.*

At the time of writing our article for *Current Discussions* last year, the editors of *The Andover Review* had published four articles on progressive orthodoxy, which were briefly noticed. Since that time the number has been increased to eight, and the entire series has been republished in a volume. We will notice only the later numbers, and as they appear in the periodical. The subjects of the last four articles are: The Work of the Holy Spirit; The Christian; The Scriptures, and Christianity Absolute and Universal. The article on the Holy Spirit is quite as important as any in the series, and taken with that on the Atonement, shows clearly the theological position of the authors. They adopt distinctly what is known as the Moral-Influence Theory of the Atonement. They teach that "the Holy Spirit in His work represents the place of motive in Christianity," and that the material which He presents as motive is furnished by the life, death and resurrection of Christ. The work of the Spirit is dependent on that of Christ, a knowledge of the work of Christ is necessary to the natural work of the Holy Spirit.¹ When the work of Christ is seen as the Holy Spirit presents it, sin is understood, its heinousness apprehended, and penitence becomes possible. "The Holy Spirit alone can reveal that righteousness through which sin becomes shameful, and that love through which the sinner becomes penitent."² As we noticed in the essay of last year, repentance is recuperation and revolution; it is regeneration, wrought

¹ V. pp. 259-60. ² V. p. 261.

ethically by communion with Christ, not by the almighty power of the Holy Ghost.

The effect of the atonement is then made to depend upon a knowledge of it, and its work is wrought through the intellect of the one who receives the benefit of it. Any other scheme of redemption is ridiculed as salvation by magic. The author of the article on the Holy Spirit quotes from his own article on the atonement. "This (that all generations are dealt with through Christ) is admitted in principle, but denied in fact, by those who assume that salvation is possible only through Christ, but believe that the power of the gospel is felt by those, and may be availing for those who know nothing about it. This reduces God's dealings with men to magic, and makes the cross superfluous."¹

This is clearly discarding any governmental effect from the atonement, is denying to it any address to God in itself, denying that it opens to God new methods of dealing with men, except as it gives Him new means for working on their intellects, and through their intellects upon their feelings.

This Andover theology seems to us essentially Pelagian, though there are many expressions in these essays which, taken by themselves, point to a different scheme. These authors make the final power which decides as to personal salvation the mind of the sinner. It is a mind in rebellion against God that accepts the truth under the demonstration of the Spirit, and a sinner's choice brings the person into the kingdom of God. In this scheme salvation is made to depend on righteousness, not on grace. One editor says: "It is intelligible that those who do not know

¹ V. p. 256.

Christ during the earthly life may yet live so righteously that they will have a place in the kingdom of the redeemed at last."¹ He makes the remark as a concession, but is it intelligible, if the principles of Christianity are admitted? We have supposed all were saved, who are saved at all, as pardoned sinners. He continually implies that salvation depends on character, not on relation to God, seems to have no thought of a present condemnation of sinners as such, but makes the judgment of God depend on the crystallization of character into righteousness or wickedness. This scheme makes the origin of righteousness in man the counterpart of the Pelagian view of the origin of sin. The latter makes sin the result of following a bad example, the former makes regeneration likeness to Christ. The Holy Spirit so presents righteousness that sin by the contrast is seen to be shameful, and the mind now enlightened follows the better example and becomes Christ-like. The scheme furnishes no adequate view of the new birth.

This scheme seems to us much weakened by its vagueness and inconsistencies. It teaches universal sinfulness, yet sinfulness of such a sort that one cannot tell how God judges it; it holds to a sacrificial view of the atonement, yet teaches that the sacrifice which is the chief indictment against sin is made by righteousness in expressing itself;² it reiterates the necessity of a knowledge of Christ in order to salvation, but finally assents that the knowledge may be only that of the redeeming love of God. "Neither have we at any point so narrowly interpreted Christianity as to limit knowledge of Christ to acquaintance with the facts of the earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth."³ While the

¹VIII. p. 573.

²V. 262.

³VIII., p. 575.

scheme teaches the actual sinfulness of men, it does not seem to imply the immediate duty of ceasing from sin, for it admits that with some "protracted processes of education and discipline may be necessary to make them ripe for decision." Indeed the ground of condemnation seems to be incompetency to salvation, not sin.

The Andover editors make much of the position that all men are to be judged by this test: their acceptance or rejection of Christ. They infer that they must, therefore, have a knowledge of Christ. The inference would be good if their views of the premise were granted, but to demand that it be granted is simply to beg the question. They, however, attempt to prove the premise, from the fact that Christ is the Judge. But this is a *non-sequitur*. Christ is not limited as to his principles of judgment by the fact that He is the Redeemer. The Andover scheme lacks much in a thorough carrying out of its principles to their logical consequences. When this is done, we believe both its advocates and opponents will have better grounds for judgment concerning it.

3. *Regressive Orthodoxy.*

The *Continuity of Christian Thought*.¹—Allen. This work, originally prepared as the Bohlen Lectures, and published in 1884, has just appeared in its third edition, and may be noticed as indicative of one of the present currents of thought. It bears a strong likeness to the *Old and New Theology* by Heard, and to *Progressive Orthodoxy*. This similarity is significant when taken with the

¹ The *Continuity of Christian Thought*: A study of modern theology in the light of history. By Alexander V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. Third Edition. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1886.

fact that, in aim and spirit, it differs from both. The purpose of the author seems to be to show that the thought or idea distinctive of Christianity pervades its entire history. He seems to imply that this idea has developed itself throughout the progress of the Church, yet that can hardly be called development, which is a fullest manifestation at first, afterward a suppression, and later on a feeble re-appearance. The author thinks Christianity appeared in the fullest and most perfect form yet accorded to it in Alexandria, as presented by Clement about A.D. 200. Under the immediate successors of Clement the main idea of Christianity became somewhat clouded, was very much suppressed in after centuries, and is just now resuming its due prominence. It would be in accordance with modern nomenclature to entitle the book *Regressive Orthodoxy*. The author pictures to himself the progress of theology as a straight line, but it would be more expressive to consider it a movement in a circle,—a movement around a column, through a shadow, back into the light. In the second century after Christ, as Professor Allen represents, the Platonic idea was returning; God was considered as afar off; men were becoming gloomy in their feeling; the sense of sin was oppressive; judgment seemed impending, when Clement commended Christianity as a remedy for the evils of the times. "He (Clement) is mainly concerned in enforcing the immanence of God. Christ is everywhere presented by him as Deity indwelling in the world. The world is viewed as part of an organic whole, moving on to some exalted destiny in the harmony of the divine order. Humanity has its life and being in Christ, to whom also it is constitutionally related; the whole human race, not any elect portion only, is included under the operation of grace

as well as of law; all human history is unified and consecrated by the visible traces of divine revelation. * * * He attempts no formal explanation of how Deity in his immanence is to be reconciled with the transcendent and unknown essence of God. But there is no qualification, in his belief, that Christ is in the fullest sense God indwelling in the world and in humanity. * * *

Nor does Clement formally endeavor to demonstrate the connection between the historic personality of Jesus, and the Deity whom he held to have been incarnate in Him. This is the assumption which underlies his thought, that which he takes for granted, because, in his own exuberant faith he feels no need of labored demonstration." After saying that Clement relied on the "life of the Church" as proof of the above views, he proceeds: "Since Christ is the indwelling God, His incarnation is not a thing new or strange, an abrupt break in the continuity of man's moral history; * * * it was not merely an historical incident by which He came into the world from a distance, and, having done His work, retired again from it. He was in the world before He came in the flesh, and was preparing the world for His visible advent. As indwelling Deity, He was to a certain extent already universally incarnated, as the light that lighteth every man, the light shining in the darkness, the light and life of men in every age.¹ * *

The substance of Clement's view of Christianity as a force operative in the world, according to our author's representations, is given in the above quotations. His theology is in accord with it. He did not hold to any fall of man by which union with God was severed. The

¹Pp. 45-47.

freedom of the will remained, man's kinship with God remained, the capacity to apprehend divine truths and accept them as motives of conduct remained. Still men were sinners ; they did not understand what was right and wise, and were unwilling to follow the Divine commands. Two obstacles to a godly life were to be removed — ignorance and unwillingness to obey God. The problem before the mind of the Alexandrian teacher was, How are the obstacles to be set aside? His solution was, it must be done by education and discipline. Our life is an education. God is our teacher. The indwelling God enlightens the mind, gives intuitions of truth, enforces convictions of the right. If men believe that which is false, they may still be seeking for the truth, and God with unwearied patience continues to show them the true way. If they are sluggish and rest in error, or self-conceited and cherish falsehood, God disciplines them by experiences which furnish abundant motives for a better life. Fear has a large place in the divine government of men, and seems to rouse them from lethargy and waken them to thought. But beyond this God resorts to judgments, by which he chastises, punishes those who are out of the way. By such processes salvation is effected. Salvation is not a deliverance of the man from himself, or from the power of nature, but a development of the true humanity by union with the indwelling Deity, or more exactly a theizing of humanity by the immanence of Deity.

Our author represents that in the theology of Clement the doctrine of expiation for sin finds no place. Redemption does not depend on sacrifice, but on assimilation of man to God. There is no need of propitiating God, for He is already extending to man the means of coming into

full communion with himself. There is no need of adopting any measures for restoring communication between man and God, for it has never been broken; the only need is that the indestructible relationship of humanity with Deity be more fully disclosed.

The sacraments are symbols of what is going on with men in their natural state; inspiration is an enlightenment of the mind, enjoyed by Hebrew prophets and Greek philosophers alike. Greek philosophy was a preparation for Christianity as truly as the Hebrew theocracy, the warrant for truth is to be found in the human consciousness. Faith is spiritual insight by which religious truths are discerned, as the bodily eye discerns external objects.

This is the theology, as our author thinks, to which we are now returning. It underwent an eclipse, never quite total, of about fourteen hundred years. It was displaced by the Augustinian theology, which may be said to have prevailed from about A.D. 400, was not restored by Protestantism, and did not reappear so as to be effective in molding religious institutions till Schleiermacher, whose work may be conveniently associated with the year 1800. Prof. Allen says: "In Schleiermacher we have also, for the first time since the days of Greek theology, a representative theologian of the highest intellectual capacity, who had drunk deeply at the springs of Greek philosophy and culture. * * *"

In this revived theology, the natural and supernatural are returned to their proper relation, and both together fall under the divine eternal law. The true test of truth, that by which the Bible must be tried, is also set forth; it is the human consciousness. Yet it is not the consciousness of the individual, but the consciousness of humanity as

developed by the immanent Deity. "And this consciousness in man, it is necessary to repeat it, to which is referred the divine revelation as the only authority capable of attesting its truth and preserving it inviolate, is bound in eternal ties to an infinite spirit, whose work is to educate it to its task. It is a consciousness, in which lie imbedded the germs of a vast process. It is not an isolated or individual thing. It exists necessarily in relationships; on the one hand, with God, who is its author; and on the other, with humanity. It involves in its highest, completest action the idea of humanity as a corporate whole."¹ It is worth while to remark here, parenthetically, that attempts to explain inspiration philosophically generally tax our faith, and call in marked interpositions of Providence more than the ordinary doctrine.

From the adoption of this test of truth rose, so our author maintains, the modern principles of biblical criticism.

Thus Schleiermacher and Clement join hands across a chasm of fourteen centuries. It is, however, the ostensible aim of this book to show that there is no real chasm, that the true doctrine of the redeeming immanence of God has endured through these ages, and is the real source of the new movement. But in this we do not think the author has been very successful. His generalizations are sometimes very sweeping; details are quite disregarded. He does not interpret history as he would have us interpret the Bible, but interprets "according to the analogy of faith," *i. e.*, he studies it in the light of a theory.

Notwithstanding any defects, this work is one of much

¹ P. 392.

merit. It is clear, bold, earnest. It affirms distinctly what some authors seem to us half to affirm and half to conceal. It deserves study on this account, and is of interest also because of its forcible presentation of the main current of the doctrinal history of the church.

We have noticed only the beginning and the close of this treatise. But the intermediate portion does not really fall within the range of topics appropriate to *Current Discussions*. The thoughts of the present time gather round the themes which have already been noticed. It will not be out of place, however, to notice, in passing, the parts of our accepted theology which would be set aside, which would cease from troubling us, if we were to accept this new theology.

We should have no occasion for the doctrine of inspiration, or of miracles, or of the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of conduct. The fall, the apostasy, original sin, total depravity, inability to good, dependence on grace would be dismissed as inconsistent with Christianity, given over to those who were willing to accept the logical consequences of their pessimism, and go on into Buddhism. Atonement, election, grace would be looked upon as the fever-dreams of a conscience having no knowledge of the nature of redemption. The resurrection and the judgment of the last day would be looked upon as figures of speech petrified, and everlasting punishment would be seen to be the imaginings of despair. All this Latin theology, Augustinian and Calvinistic, carrying in itself the germs of gnosticism, deism, Buddhism, being at bottom the essence of skepticism, would vanish before the returning light of the old theological school of Alexandria.

II. THEISM.

Special attention was given to theism in *Current Discussions* for 1884, and we desire to give it but brief space the present year. The topic, however, is too important to be passed unheeded whenever interesting and suggestive treatises bring it to our notice. Especially works in which it is connected with the engrossing theme of evolution are entitled to our regard. In *Theism and Evolution*,¹ Dr. Van Dyke attempts to show that evolution is consistent with theism, and may be even made to furnish an argument in its favor. He says: "Is it not possible that he [the theist] will find evolution an efficient instrumentality in strengthening the foundations of revealed religion? We confidently believe he may. This, Henry Drummond, in his *Natural Laws in the Spiritual World*, has made apparent." He, however, allows to evolution a more limited range than is claimed for it by many of its advocates. The author attempts in the first part of his volume, the first ten chapters, to show that evolution, if admitted to be true, must accept the doctrine of theism, because (1) it does not wholly account for the things for which it accounts in part, (2) it does not at all account for some facts which science must admit, (3) it needs to be accounted for itself.

He says: "The issue still is, as it always has been, whether organic nature is the result of design or of chance," and adds, "Unless an evolutionist affirms that the causes to which he refers changes are self-sufficient, he is not open to the charge of atheism."² He admits that changes

¹*Theism and Evolution: An Examination of Modern Speculative Theories, as related to Theistic Conceptions of the Universe.* By Joseph S. Van Dyke, D. D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1886.

²P. 41.

take place within the species, and does not deny that new species may be formed by development, but still maintains that evolution does not account for the human species. It does not even account for the human body. Natural selection cannot be shown to have secured anything more than slight improvements in physical structure, and those such as had already occurred and were the ground of the selection, but were not the product of selection. The survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence does not at all account for the transformation of one species into another. Struggles through hardship and suffering, in which vast numbers of individuals were destroyed, would tend to the deterioration of those that survived rather than their improvement. Improvements in species may be due to reversion, may be a recovery of that which was lost under unfavorable circumstances, instead of being referable to inherent, undeveloped power. Nor can long periods of time be made, with any assurance, a factor in the improvements of species. If, within the historical era, there has been no real movement of species, indicating a probability of passing beyond their barriers, a multiplication of such eras would not make the passage probable. Moreover, the indications are that the period of life on earth has not been at all adequate to produce the changes which have occurred. The length of time required for the successive developments demanded by thorough-going evolution is beyond computation; not so the era of life. Again, progress toward a higher form within the species would at first often be a source of weakness rather than strength. In the words of the author: " Even the highest intelligence conceivable seems inadequate to account for changes which, during their progress, and until the trans-

formation was nearly or quite complete, must have been positively detrimental. During the entire period that the fore-feet of the gorilla were developing into hands, he must have been less perfectly fitted to his previous mode of life, and as yet but ill adapted to even the lowest savage-life. In like manner, it is nearly impossible to conceive that he should have possessed intelligence sufficient to perceive the advantages ultimately to arrive from assuming a more erect position; and unless he foresaw these advantages, and in fact deliberately decided on present self-denial for the sake of advantages to his posterity, we are forced to adopt some other explanation quite as unreasonable, chance, or an innate power unconsciously evincing superior intelligence.¹

The author considers it impossible to hold that the human mind is a development of the brute mind. And if we concede that the intellect is immediately from the hand of God, the physical organism must be also, for they correspond to each other. Still more obvious is it, in his opinion, that we cannot account for our moral qualities by evolution. There is no process by which the advantageous can be transformed into honor, gratitude, reverence, into a proper regard for sanctity, chastity, truthfulness. "To see beauty in goodness and charity and forgiveness and love; to admire them even when they are not permitted to mold the life; to condemn wrong-doing, even when practicing it—these are strong proofs that conscience is an essential element of human nature, the direct workmanship of 'a hand divine.'"²

It is, however, according to our author, the religious

¹P. 55.

²P. 98.

nature which furnishes the chief objection to the evolutionary doctrine of man's origin. He believes that the general belief in witchcraft and in spiritual agencies, found among the lowest savages, is a relic of a primitive religion, and quotes Max Müller as authority for the position that every religion is exposed to inevitable decay. He denies, therefore, that religion is gradually acquired, as men emerge from the savage state — a position maintained by Huxley, Spencer and others. If gross and wretched beliefs are fragments of a system of doctrine passing from the better to the worse, not from the worse to the better, then religion must at first have been a divine bestowment. The author charges the evolutionists who controvert this view with abandoning their own professed method of arguing from induction, and with adopting the *a priori* argumentation to sustain their cause.

The author sustains quite effectively, it seems to us, the position that evolution itself needs to be accounted for. The following will indicate his method of treating the subject: " And yet, strange to say, it is frankly conceded that spontaneous generation does not now occur — cannot now occur — and has occurred but once. Are we to understand, then, that spontaneous generation is causeless generation? If it is not causeless, why has it occurred but once? The cause which produced it that once still lives, for no force has been annihilated. To say that it was causeless would be unscientific. * * * If spontaneous generation is inconceivable even on the theory that life is merely a particular molecular arrangement, it is of course no less inconceivable on any higher theory of life. If life is a directing agency capable of organizing matter into a living structure, then how came ' the ill-defined compound

known as *proteine* to possess this directing agency? ' ' ¹

The author seems not to be satisfied with the present state of the teleological argument in natural theology, and intimates that there is a larger teleology, which embraces evolution and may be made much more effective in the establishment of theism. We do not think he has here presented his thoughts with the clearness which the subject demands, nor does he appear to apprehend exactly the use made of the old teleology by those who have confidence in it.

In the second part of his work — eight chapters, beginning with the eleventh — Dr. Van Dyke treats of matter, or rather of the origin of matter. His conclusions under this head do not seem so carefully supported as those in the former portion of the book, but they indicate a current of thought — a current which, we believe, has not yet run its course — and we therefore briefly state his opinions. To the question, "What is matter?" he replies: "This question has received no satisfactory answer, and probably never will. Apparently, no adequate answer is possible."² He accepts, however, the old idea of essence and properties, and concerning its origin, says: "Matter, even if it could be proved to be self-existent and eternal, would not answer the necessities of the case. The human intellect refuses to rest in any first principle which is not absolutely first, in any reality which is not an Unconditioned Reality, in any unity which is not the Ultimate Unity. It affirms that the cause of causes must be the personal will of a self-existent, eternal Being. * * * Will, not matter, not force, not thought, is the Final [First] Cause of all

¹P. 168.

²P. 285.

things."¹ In saying that force is not the cause of material existences, he refers to force apart from God, who is Himself force. After urging that force is spiritual and immaterial, he says: "We act reasonably in concluding that science does not pronounce against the theory that the universe continues to exist because an Omnipotent Personal Will so decrees; indeed, we are safe in affirming that such a theory is regarded with favor by advanced science. The Divine Will is the infinite energy which produces all effects, each of which, as it streams forth from the fountain of all power, becomes a cause producing effects, * * * secondary causes and secondary effects being, in fact, convertible terms."² How that energy of Deity which we call life differs from other second causes, the author does not tell us, but says: "It is reasonable to assert that there is such an entity as 'vital force,' distinct alike from matter and from the ordinary forces of nature,"³ a point which he argues carefully, with a good deal of accumulation of detail.

In two chapters at the close the author argues that there is no conflict between Science and the Bible; both make the Divine Will the cause of all things, both teach development, both teach teleology, both affirm that there have been breaks (the author speaks of seven⁴) in the ordinarily continuous flow of events, both teach that the Cosmos had a beginning and will have an end.

Dr. Abbot has given us in his *Scientific Theism*⁵ the

¹P. 219.

²P. 276.

³Pp. 324-330.

⁴P. 241.

⁵*Scientific Theism*, by Francis Ellingwood Abbott, Ph. D. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1885.

result of long-patient thinking. It is a thoroughly original work. Not that the thoughts are not elsewhere to be found, but they are set forth as he thinks them, and they represent him, not any one else. The work is not to be estimated by its size — about 230 pages — and should be read two or three times by any one who thinks a small book is of small account. The author is not a pedant, though he has read many books; not an advocate, though he is much in earnest in presenting his views, but thoroughly a philosopher who writes for the truth's sake. He says: "The novelty of this book lies in its acceptance, on the warrant of modern science and the scientific method, of the fact that we *do know* the objective relations of things, and in its attempt to develop the necessary philosophical implications and consequences of this fact, which phenomenistic modern philosophy steadily denies."¹ He considers that modern philosophy has been fruitless, while science has been eminently successful, and that an important problem of the age is to make philosophy scientific and give to science its support.⁸ The author's views will not receive the assent of the orthodox theologian, but they illustrate a strong tendency of modern thought, if they do not wholly coincide with it.

The author's scheme of philosophy is really determined by the office which he assigns to man's intellect. He holds that it deals with relations, and that in three ways, viz.; perception, reproduction and construction. The perceiving intellect apprehends the relations of objects first brought before it by the sensibility. The sensibility apprehends unrelated qualities, but this apprehension is not intellectual. There is no understanding in the case till the

¹P. x. P. 55.

relations of the qualities appearing in the sensibility are perceived. Perception is dependent on sense, but the act of sense is not an act of understanding. This act of the intellect is intuitive or analytical, it approaches the thing examined directly, face to face, and sees what its relations are, for instance, sees the form of an object brought before the eye. The eye itself does not see the form, but the mind sees it. The second function of the intellect is reproduction or conception. If the perception were complete, this would be, we suppose, a mere act of memory. But let the author state his own idea: "The conceptive understanding unites perceived relations, after the pattern of the real systematic unity discovered in the thing by the perceptive understanding, into permanent thought-systems, which persist in the mind after the disappearance of the percepts."¹ The constructive intellect, which he describes also as creative, forms ideal systems of relations which are to be realized in the future. The creative use of the intellect is essentially teleological, *i. e.* it adapts means to ends. When the end is suggested by the feeling, it is happiness, either of self or of another, when it is suggested by the higher reason, the end is truth, beauty, goodness.² "Thus the perceptive understanding *discovers* objective systems of relations; the conceptive understanding re-creates or *reproduces* them; the creative understanding, in its pure activity, recombines them, and thereby *freely* creates new subjective systems of relations. The supreme construction of the creative understanding is *Method*, which is also the highest perfection of teleology; for it is the adaptation of means to ends, not for a single act or judgment, but for

¹Page 138.²Page 143.

the universal series of acts or judgments. Hence, method being the highest potency of intellect *in actu*, the essentially teleological nature of all intellect is plainly apparent."¹ He sums up his discussion thus: "*Intelligence is that which either discovers or creates relational systems or constitutions.*"¹ He clearly includes sense in the cognitive faculties, though inferior to the intellect, and seems to include in them the higher reason—"the supreme faculty of the Ideal"—but as a power above the intellect.

The object of the understanding, the thing understood, should also be noticed. This is relations; nothing else is intelligible. But the relation carries with it the things related. Though these two objects are distinguishable, they are not separable. Neither in fact nor in thought can they be divorced from each other. There is no form without a content; there is not content without a form. To perceive the beauty of a statue is to perceive the relations subsisting between its parts, but there is no perceiving of the beauty separate from its parts. Again, the parts are not perceived separately as wholes, but as parts which together constitute a whole. The perceiving or analyzing intellect never reaches everything; further search will always reveal new objects, but the method of understanding is always the same; parts are known as related by their combination in a whole. "Scientific discovery has thus far stopped with the *atom* and the *person*, as the practical limits of its analysis of the universe into single things; the universe itself is the all-thing (Allding); between these extremes is a countless multitude of intermediate composite things (molecules, masses, compounds, species, genera, families, societies, states, etc). The

¹Pp. 145, 147.

systems of internal relations in all these various things vary immensely in complexity and comprehensiveness, * * * but in every case the *immanent relational constitution* of the thing constitutes the real unity, quiddity, noumenal essence, substantial form, formal cause, or *objectively intelligible character*."¹

This theory of knowledge the author calls noumenism in distinction from phenomenism. Phenomenism makes the object perceived a mere appearance, subjective, the mind's apprehension of a thing. He illustrates it by an extract from a story, *Alice in Wonderland*, where a grinning cat, being simply a phenomenon, vanished slowly, beginning at the tail and ending with the grin, which remained some time after the rest was gone. On the other hand, the author holds that the object known is a noumenon, a thing in itself, and that the phenomenon is simply the appearing of the noumenon. The two are inseparable, a phenomenon without a noumenon would be a contradiction in terms, and a noumenon which did not or could not appear would be nonsense. The noumenon is the intelligible, not the unintelligible, as has been assumed since Kant's day. The consequence of separating the phenomenon from the noumenon has been the prevalence of idealism in modern philosophy and the skepticism which must flow from it. Science, by adhering to realism, has made wonderful advances, while philosophy has mandered hopelessly and aimlessly. "Hence it is hardly presumptuous to believe that scientific men themselves, whether prepared to go with me further or not, will at least go with me thus far without the slightest hesitation, admit that noumenism is the only just and philosophical interpre-

¹ P. 129.

tation of the scientific method, and concede the truth of the principle that the universe *per se*, as discovered by the use of that method, is infinitely intelligible."¹ This doctrine of noumenism or realism is the basis of the author's system. That things are intelligible, possess an immanent relational constitution, appear as they are, and are preceived as they appear, is a fundamental principle, and is to be accepted as truth. What else do we know or can we know than that which appears. And that which appears must be a reality. The question to be decided is whether it appears or not; that is to be decided by experience. "What distinguishes appearance from apparition or delusion is congruity with the entirety of experience; there is no positive test of knowledge or criterion of truth save universal human experience, which constitutes the final appeal of science itself."² If, however, it appears, we must fix upon *it* as the known, not simply upon *appear*. "Hence the doctrine of the 'Unknowable,' which has no foundation whatever, except the theory of phenomenism, is the concentrated essence of unreason, if made itself the foundation of a philosophy, and, if this philosophy founded on nothing is then made the foundation of a religion, it becomes thereby the concentrated essence of superstition — the worship of the Non-Existent and the Non-sensical."³

The author holds that all that exists is intelligible, can only exist as such. He does not hold that finite mind can comprehend all things perfectly, but that whatever exists must have some relations, and these must be possible objects of intellectual apprehension. Even disordered

¹P. 127. 2P. 103.

²P. 124.

relations, decay, death, dissolution in the great whole of nature, are intelligible, though within a certain finite range of relations they may be discordant and unintelligible. "An actual universe can exist only on condition that it be cosmos, and not chaos; for an actual universe must be self-existent, and self-existent chaos would be nothing but self-existent universal disorder — that is, *a self-existent system of non-system*, which is a flat contradiction in terms."¹

The universe, being intelligible, infinite and perfect, must be an organism. An organism is that which lives and grows. Finite organisms appropriate that which is outside themselves, and so reproduce themselves; but the infinite organism "lives by eternally converting itself as *force* into itself as *form*, and it dies not, because it has no need to convert the not-itself into itself — because its eternal self-conservation is its eternal self-creation."²

This brings us to the theistic portion of the work before us. "The great principle of the infinite intelligibility of the universe is the corner-stone of scientific theism."³ It has already been noticed that intellect is that which either discovers or creates relational systems; but the universe is an intelligible self-existent relational system, and must have intellect corresponding to its intelligibility. If intelligible, its parts must be determined in relation to each other; and if self-existent, its relations must be self-determined, and if self-determined, then it must be self-conscious, and the system must be self-created. Infinite intelligibility is also infinite intelligence. This affords us the idea of God. When we add that the universe is an

¹ P. 132.² P. 164.³ P. 125.

infinite organism, we see that God, the Supreme Intelligence, works teleologically, for an organism is for an end. The end which God secures is the end of being, in itself fulfilling ("full-filling") of its own life.

The author supposes that by an argument like this (the details have not been given), theism is set upon a foundation which cannot be shaken. He does not, indeed, express any interest in establishing theism merely as a doctrine, but his interest is in the truth; and in such a view of the universe he believes the truth is to be found. The question whether his scheme is pantheistic, he thinks, depends on the meaning of terms. If the doctrine that God and the universe are one is pantheism, then he is a pantheist. He believes in one substance — monism — not in dualism, not in two diverse substances, matter and spirit, without common properties, yet related. He thinks God is continually objectifying Himself in nature. But if pantheism denies personality to God, and teaches the existence of a spirit blindly exerting its power, and first coming to consciousness in man, then he is not a pantheist.

He accepts the doctrine of evolution, considers it the great discovery of the age, and looks upon it as a confirmation of his scheme of philosophy. He holds, however, that the mechanical view of evolution is wholly untenable, and that only the organic view, that which teaches a theological scheme of the universe, developed intelligently and for a purpose, can be maintained. His remarks upon mechanical evolution, that is, a scheme of evolution that takes cognizance of efficient causes only, are well worthy of notice. He says: "If any further proof is wanted of the absolute necessity of the principle of teleology in

science itself, it is forthcoming in the fact that no mechanical theory of evolution has yet appeared, as far as my knowledge goes, which does not deny itself, beg the question, and surrender the whole point at issue, by consciously or unconsciously, overtly or covertly, introducing of itself the teleological principle, the moment it approaches the province of biology. I will only mention Herbert Spencer and Ernest Haeckel, the two ablest defenders of the mechanical philosophy."¹ He quotes Spencer as defining life to be adjustment, etc., while he rejects teleology, and concludes: "Thus Spencer has written down the absolute and irretrievable failure of his whole philosophy, as a mechanical theory of evolution, in that one word 'adjustment.'"² He says that Haeckel, though a "more sequent thinker," does the same thing. "Neither of them has the faintest conception of the new, monistic, strictly natural and purely organic teleology of scientific philosophy. Their systems, therefore, are out of date already; they are not abreast of the age."³

The author considers that evil is incident to a finite system, but that the system of nature is as perfect as possible, certain imperfections being unavoidable.

He is somewhat careful to show that his scheme of philosophy is not that of the Scotch school, the common-sense philosophy. It is very clear that the two are not identical taken in their length and breadth, but his exposition of the common-sense belief in the external world is not correct, as it seems to us; that doctrine is, that we believe in the external world, because we believe we know

¹ P. 194.

² P. 196.

³ P. 199.

it—know it through perception. Hamilton founds all knowledge on belief, but does not Mr. Abbot also? Does not all knowledge rest upon confidence in, trust accorded to, the knowing faculty? More thoroughly than most philosophers, Mr. Abbot rests in belief. He accepts things as they appear—it makes no difference how long and careful the process of verification may be—and holds that in apprehending the appearance of things he knows them.

The most obtrusive objection to the scheme of thought before us is the fact that it excludes morals. The doctrine concerning evil here presented makes the proper distinction between sin and virtue impossible. But that distinction is the last which human philosophy will surrender.

Our author's humor reminds us of Jonathan Edwards, but it is not as reposeful as that of the great Northampton divine. We have given this work more space than we should, but that it presents a scheme of American philosophy as well as a scheme of theism.

*The Idea of God.*¹ This little work is one of marked interest for its boldness, its clearness, and the ability which it manifests. The idea which is the basis and postulate of the treatise is this: "Paley's simile of the watch is no longer applicable to such a world as this. It must be replaced by the simile of the flower. The universe is not a machine, but an organism, with an indwelling principle of life. It was not made, but it has grown. That such a change in our conception of the universe marks the greatest revolution that has ever taken place in human thinking need scarcely be said. * * * The all-pervading

¹ *The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge*, by John Fiske. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1886.

harmony of nature is thus itself a natural product, and the last inch of ground is cut away from under the theologians who suppose the universe to have come into existence through a supernatural process of manufacture at the hands of a creator outside of itself."¹ The ordinary arguments for the proof of the being of God, the author considers fallacious. The argument from design, he says, in its palmyest days, manifested its weakness by proving too much. It made it impossible to suppose the Creator both omnipotent and benevolent, and thus led to Manicheism, or its theological equivalent, the doctrine of original sin. Besides, it is clear that design cannot prove the existence of an omnipotent creator, for omnipotence does not adopt means to ends but accomplishes its purposes directly by a word. "God said, Let there be light; and there was light." But more positively still, the argument from design is baseless. "It was in the adaptations of the organic world, in the manifold harmonies between living creatures and surrounding circumstances that it has seemed to find its chief support; and now came the Darwinian theory of natural selection, and in the twinkling of an eye knocked all this support from under it." He maintains that creatures seem adapted to their surroundings, because only those adapted survive the struggle for life, and says: "The demonstration of this point, through the labors of a whole generation of naturalists, has been one of the most notable achievements of modern science, and to the theistic arguments of Paley and the Bridgewater treatises it has dealt destruction."²

The question rises at once, whether we are left without

¹P. 131.

²Pp. 128-9.

a God after the demolition of the favorite theistic argument. To answer this question the book before us was written. How is the idea of God affected by modern knowledge? The author holds that God is immanent in the universe, a power pervading every part, accomplishing all that is done. There are no secondary causes, all events flow directly from the eternal first cause. There are no physical forces; matter to which they are attributed is simply a manifestation of the omnipresent creative power of God.¹

The process of mind by which the author arrives at this conclusion may be presented by a few brief quotations. "Now the whole tendency of modern science is to impress upon us even more forcibly the truth that the entire knowable universe is an immense unit, animated throughout all its parts by a single principle of life. This conclusion, which was long ago borne in upon the minds of prophetic thinkers, like Spinoza and Goethe, through their keen appreciation of the significance of the physical harmonies known to them (why not give some credit to Paley's keen appreciation?) has during the last fifty years received something like a demonstration in detail."² "The farthest reach in science that has ever been made, was made when it was proved by Herbert Spencer that the law of universal evolution is a necessary consequence of the persistence of force. It has shown us that all the myriad phenomena of the universe, all its weird and subtle changes in all their minuteness from moment to moment, in all their vastness from age to age, are the manifestations of a single animating principle that is both infinite and eternal."³ "It (the

¹Pp. 103-153.

²P. 145.

³P. 150.

law of evolution) means that the universe, as a whole, is thrilling in every fibre with Life—not, indeed, life in the usual restricted sense, but life in a general sense. The distinction, once deemed absolute, between the living and the not living is converted into a relative distinction; and Life, as manifested in the organism, is seen to be only a specialized form of the Universal Life.”¹

This pervasive life of the universe is God. Professor Fiske asks what name shall be given it. Force is the term ordinarily used in physics, but it explains nothing and is an abstract term, while the animating principle of the universe is a concrete reality. He prefers the term Power as a designation of that “which is always and everywhere manifested in phenomena.” This Power is not material, because it is the source of matter—the scene of certain states of consciousness—but is physical, akin to the human spirit, “the very same power which in ourselves wells up under the forms of consciousness.”² Our author speaks of the divine nature as quasi-physical in one or two passages, because he desires to avoid making God anthropomorphic, and does not ascribe to Him personality as that term is understood in its application to men. He does, however, consider Him a Being working intelligently, working for a purpose, constructing a reasonable universe. He seems even to forget evolution, and argue from the constitution of the mind. “The teleological instinct in man cannot be suppressed or ignored. The human soul shrinks from the thought that it is without kith or kin in all this wide universe. Our reason demands that there shall be a reasonableness in the constitution of

¹P. 149.

²P. 157.

things. * * * Nothing can persuade us that the universe is a farrago of nonsense."¹ He feels under obligation to find a response to this demand of reason in the creation. Accordingly, he finds in nature a dramatic tendency which points to a consummation. "The glorious consummation toward which organic evolution is tending is the production of the highest and most perfect psychical life."² This is realized, or is to be realized, in man, — aimed at in all animate existence, — and to be perfected in his further development, when the brute inheritance shall have been fully eliminated and natural selection set aside by intelligent choice. "When from the dawn of life we see all things working together toward the evolution of the highest spiritual attributes of man, we know, however, the words may stumble in which we may try to say it, that God is in the deepest sense a moral being. The everlasting source of phenomena is none other than the infinite Power that makes for righteousness."³

Both the argumentation and the spirit of this work are cheering when compared with some mechanical schemes of evolution, for example, those which the author, in the preface, calls pantheistic. But his God clearly is not the God of the Bible, and is a God who denies the needs of humanity rather than supplies them. Moreover, the treatise itself, without regard to the conclusion which it reaches, seems to us defective. The doctrine of natural selection is not universally admitted, but without it this work would be an airy vision. The author's objection to the supernatural, *e. g.*, to miracles, is of no validity to one who does

¹Pp. 137-8.

²P. 160.

³P. 167.

not look at things from his standpoint. We think Paley could find quite as strong objections to his positions as he does to Paley's, and that if his positions can be sustained, Paley's can also. But we have not space to present these views in detail.

III. EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

We have no works of special interest to be noticed in this department of theology. Professor R. A. Lipsius has, however, written a long article, comprising a good part of three numbers of the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* for 1885, entitled "New Contributions to the Scientific Founding of Dogmatics," which he closes with a section on "The Proof of the Truth of Religion." This last section is worthy of a passing notice. The entire article is written as a reply to criticisms upon his former works, and contains his mature and well-settled views.

The author considers religion to be, not the feeling of entire dependence on God, but a life of freedom from the world through dependence on God and help from Him. He says: "When a man lifts himself in faith towards God, he performs an act of intelligible freedom. When he in piety realizes his dependence on God, he experiences the reality of the religious relation as one different in kind from his relation to the world. * * * The reality of the religious relation, which may be experienced but cannot be explained, is the mystery of religion. Its realm is the inner life of the personal subject; its essence is a life hid in God."¹ He explains a statement to which allusion had been made thus: "Religion is exaltation above the

¹Viertes Heft, p. 590.

finite (*i. e.*, empiric) dependence of man in the world to intelligible freedom above it in an infinite (*i. e.*, transcendental) dependence."¹

The author holds to the objective reality of this transcendental dependence — makes it a dependence on God, who reveals Himself to men by objective means. He says: "All religion sets out from faith in a divine revelation. However this revelation is presented, religion is to its confessors never a mere complex of subjective human representations of God and of deeds corresponding to these representations, but it is always presupposed in these representations and deeds, that they rest on divine disclosures, by which the religious representation and conduct are regulated."²

The point to which we call attention is his method of establishing the objectivity of the religious relations, and especially the objective reality of Christianity. He denies that our proof of the existence of God comes through the revelation in Christ, and maintains that our faith in God is a condition precedent to our faith in the Christian salvation. Even if the experience of those brought up under the influence of the Church brings Christianity into the foreground, still, in the logical order, the being of God is first.³ He holds that a scientific proof of the objects of faith is impossible; that it must be derived from our practical religious needs.⁴ He says: "When I have spoken of its (religion's) foundation in the essence of man or in the human self-consciousness, I have had in mind nothing, absolutely nothing, else than the practical need of religion

¹Ditto, p. 564.

²Viertes Heft, p. 600.

³Ditto, p. 607.

⁴Ditto, pp. 599, 650.

(Nöthigungen zur Religion) which man experiences when he seeks to raise himself above dependence on the world, to freedom over it, and seeks thereby to maintain his personal life in opposition to the mechanism of nature. These necessities are not the essence of religion, but its origin."¹ He implies that these necessities afford the proof of the objectivity of God,² and refers to Kant's well-known views as sustaining him in his assertion, that the unconditional obligation rising from the moral law involves faith in an objective power of good pervading the moral world. "Also the further insight is herewith given that this power not only sets the individual moral life in harmony with the general moral life, but also makes the natural world serviceable to an objective moral aim. * * * Therefore it remains correct that the ethical necessities (Nöthigungen, compulsions) are 'the royal way' which leads to faith in a moral will-force pervading the world."³ The convictions produced by our religious necessities do not flow from the existence of those necessities, but from their effect upon our experience. And the convictions are personal, not such that they can be imparted as convictions to others. He says: "From this it follows immediately that practical religious experience is the sole criterion for that truth which man seeks in revelation, viz., for the actual possession of the good things in the possession of which revelation promises to set him. Only when the religious subject makes this experience actual is the claim to validity, which the outer revelation presents, established in his own soul. * * * What has already been said of religion is also

¹Ditto, p. 639.

²Viertes Heft, p. 599.

³Ditto, pp. 606-7.

true of the revelation to which its confessors appeal; the criterion of its truth is, that it does not disappoint the expectation of man; that it actually helps him to the possession of the good things he expected from it."¹ This inner assurance of the truth is, he says, what Protestants have called the testimony of the spirit, *fides divina*, and carries with it the assurance that it is God "who, by means of that revelation, produces these effects in the human spirit, and immediately reveals himself as the efficient one in their production."

Lipsius bases the evidence of Christian truth on experience, as he does that of religious truth. The testimony of believers may incline one to faith in God and faith in Christ, but assurance of reality must come from personal experience—it is a personal realization. He says of Christ: "As the revelation of God, He discloses not merely God's purposes of love in general, but His special will concerning His kingdom; and He does this not merely by His doctrine, but also through His life-work. As the Founder of the Christian community, He gives basis to the new divine light, while He develops in the ideal form the perfect religious principle of divine Sonship, and transfers His personal consciousness of Sonship to His disciples."² After speaking of the historical revelation of Christ as of value, but not the immediate ground of faith, he says: "The individual should rather himself prove in experience (make the experience) that God reveals Himself in Christ. This is the significance of the *testimonium Spiritus sancti internum*. It emancipates the believing individual from the mere *fides humana* of the Church tes-

¹Ditto, p. 613.

²Ditto, p. 624.

timony, while it wakens in him a *fides divina*. * * *
As verification of the outer revelation of God in Christ, it is an act of divine revelation in the soul of the believer. As for content, this act of God in man is no new revelation, but only the appropriation of the historical revelation for a personal possession. But it is the subjective form in which the believer experiences the eternal content of this historical revelation, as the divine content of his own Christian consciousness. This appropriation of the historical revelation, the personally-assured possession of the subject, is the single direct proof of the truth of the Christian religion. The proof of the objectivity of the religious relation is implied in it."

Our author considers that this method of establishing the truth of Christianity affords a positive and independent proof of its reality, so that the system may be adhered to without regard to the objections made against it. "This justification (of the Christian estimate of the world) follows here, not in an apologetic way, through the defense of Christianity against the attacks of its opponent, but by the simple building up of that estimate of the world since this single topic, taken by itself, must, if fully carried out, furnish the proof that Christian truth has no contest to fear from science outside of religion. This proof can be afforded in the same measure that success is attained in bringing back the religious judgments of Christendom to the fact of ethico-religious experience."¹ The author's entire argumentation on this topic is based on the position that man, as a person, is inclined to be religious. The roots of religion are to be found in

¹ Viertes Heft, p. 658.

the spirit-life of man. These roots are the same for religion and for ethics, without the life-realm of the two being identical."¹

IV. ESCHATOLOGY.

*Professor Shedd on Endless Punishment.*²

This is a work of marked excellences. Each of its three chapters is important and interesting. The first, on the history of the doctrine of endless punishment, is quite too brief—ten pages—but as a sketch of early opinions and of the opinions of modern German theologians—topics on which the author is peculiarly fitted to speak—is very valuable. The second chapter constitutes the body of the book. It presents the Biblical argument in support of endless punishment, and, as it seems to us, very forcibly. The opening argument, from the words of Christ, is very solemn and impressive in its effect; and, as the author asks at the close: "Do these representations, and this phraseology, make the impression that the future punishment of sin is to be remedial and temporary?" the reader feels that the question is already settled. The main stress of the Biblical argument, however, is connected with the words *Sheol* and *Hades*. The author attempts to show that these words, as used in the Scriptures, do not designate the Underworld, where all the dead, good and bad, are congregated, but designate, generally, the places of punishment for the wicked, sometimes the grave. The argumentation on this point is very satisfactory, both from its fullness and from the principles on which it is based. The author says

¹Ditto, Pp. 642-645.

²*The Doctrine of Endless Punishment*, by William G. T. Shedd, D. D. Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886.

in the preface: "The argument from Scripture here given turns principally upon the meaning of Sheol and Hades, and of the adjective *aionios*. In determining the significance of the former, the author has relied mainly upon the logic and aim of the inspired writers. The reasoning of a writer is a clue to his technical terms. When his object unquestionably is to alarm and deter, it is rational to infer that his phraseology has a meaning in his own mind that is adapted to this. When, therefore, the wicked are threatened with a Sheol and a Hades, it must be an erroneous interpretation that empties them of all the force of a threat. And such is the interpretation which denies that either term denotes the place of retributive suffering."¹

The third chapter, on the rational argument, is too brief. This argument is the chief resort and reliance of those who oppose the doctrine of endless punishment. The healthful tone that pervades this chapter makes one regret its lack of completeness. The view of humanity which attributes to it character, responsibility, and, in its proper development, worth, the view of God which ascribes to him justice and faithfulness in threats as well as in promises, and the view of the relation between God and man, a relation involving law, covenant and judgment, stand in refreshing contrast with the views of certain modern authors, fairly represented by Mr. Heard, who seem intoxicated with their own ideas of the Divine Paternity. The Fatherhood of God is a most cheering theme of contemplation, but not at all new. There is, however, a new sentiment connected with it by some recent theologians, which does no honor either to God or to man. They talk about the Fatherhood of God, but they have in mind the

¹P. iii.

babyhood of men. They teach, impliedly—to make their arguments of any account must teach—that God is a Father after the pattern of Eli, that he loves his children with a softness and tenderness that forbids rigid justice and does not permit him to say: “Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet.” An infusion of Professor Shedd’s ideas concerning ill-desert and retribution into the ministry and the membership of our churches is specially desirable at the present time. It would enlarge men’s views of the dignity of the divine government; of the heinousness of sin; of the mercy of God; of the sure foundation on which the scheme of redemption rests.

While we can speak thus in cordial approval of the work before us, we are obliged to say that it has defects which ought not to have been permitted. A good hand-book on this doctrine of punishment would, at just this time, be a great boon to our churches. No one could perform this service better than Professor Shedd. But his book does not fully meet the demand. It has no index, its table of contents is as good as none, the main chapters—the second and third—have no sections and few way marks to indicate the progress of the argument and to aid the reader in finding special topics. We think even the argument itself suffers from the want of clear divisions; that it would have been better rounded and more complete if the author had considered that there were minor points on which this and that reader would desire to know his views.

If the author had devoted a few pages to a presentation of the present state of the question, he would have added much to the value of his work. A map of the modern

views is much needed. How much of purgatory is there in universalism? how is conditional immortality, as held by its advocates, related to sin and punishment? what are the different forms of the doctrine of future probation? what do the advocates of restoration, and what the advocates of annihilation teach? are questions that need an answer from one who can think carefully and discriminate accurately. We believe a fair presentation of the antagonism of these different views would help many Christian people to settle their own minds, and do much toward establishing the true doctrine.

In some instances the author seems to us to allow himself to be carried away by the logical form of an argument without having carefully estimated its content. He says, for example, in proving the falsity of the doctrine of annihilation, that "death is the opposite of birth, and birth does not mean the creation of substance."¹ The argument seems to assume that death is not an event in the progress of the individual as he advances from birth toward the goal of his existence, but an undoing of that effected in birth. Would not this require that the soul of the child return to the parent soul from which it came? and all souls finally to that from which the race originally started? The entire argument against annihilation seems to us not likely to have much influence with the adherents of the doctrine.

We doubt whether Prof. Shedd's arguments from infinity add to the popular power of his work. A good many questions about the divine attributes and the measuring line of suffering suggest themselves when one reads such a sentence as this: "The infinite, incarnate God suffered

¹P. 90.

more agony in Gethsemane than the whole finite human race could suffer in endless duration."¹

It may be questioned whether the author is not too rigorous sometimes in the application of his logic; whether he is not too oblivious of ethical considerations. He seems, in his rational argument, to assume that God cannot remit a just punishment in any case of impenitence; that He could not be permitted to put an end to the suffering of the guilty under any circumstances. He admits that God might annihilate a good angel for good reasons, but seems to hold that one who has sinned must be kept in existence forever for the sake of punishment.² We have no doubt that retributive justice is an adequate ground of punishment, but should not like to defend the position that retributive justice, acting simply *a tergo*, without any regard to resulting good, without any ethical consideration whatever, must endlessly make every culprit wretched. Endless punishment is taught in the Bible, but we believe is inflicted for wise ends. If after a period of time the stability of the moral universe is absolute, and the guilty are suffering for nothing that is to come, but only because they sinned and justice is, could not God say it would be possible, it would not be sin, to put them out of existence? Prof. Shedd does indeed say: "God is not obliged, by His justice, to perpetuate a conscious existence which he originated *ex nihilo*." But this does not seem to set aside, in his mind, the necessity of punishing sin to the exact extent of its ill-desert.

¹P. 131.

²Pp. 92, 132-135.

Probation and Punishment, Vernon.¹ This work, similar to Professor Shedd's in doctrine is quite unlike in style and method of argumentation. The idea of hell, as it rests in the author's mind, assumes much more the form of a natural result in the development of the moral world, less the character of a resort of vindictory justice. Dr. Vernon does not insist that the word *sheol* itself contains a threat of punishment, but holds that it must often designate a place of punishment, cannot actually be interpreted as meaning anything else. His arrangement and interpretation of the Scripture texts upon this doctrine is not peculiar, but is skillful and very satisfactory. There is one sentiment pervading this book which is worthy of notice, though the author does not draw special attention to it. We may call it his doctrine of correspondence. He says: * * * "All the provisions love has made for man's happiness are capable of being so perverted or abused as to become the source of pain and suffering. What God intended for a blessing may be transformed into a curse."² "Love ignored and opportunity neglected are naturally followed by the rejected prayer and the closed door. We may, therefore, conclude that this double potentiality, so manifest in nature and revelation, is a necessity in the the nature of things, from which there is no escape, even when the eternal interests of the soul are involved. If we follow the stream to the fountain, we shall find love itself, by the necessity of its nature, having always a double

¹*Probation and Punishment.* A rational and Scriptural exposition of the doctrine of the future punishment of the wicked, as held by the great body of Christian believers of all ages, with special reference to the unscriptural doctrine of a second probation. By Rev. S. M. Vernon, D.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1886.

²P. 13.

expression, the one the opposite of the other. It is impossible to love without hating, or to hate without loving."¹ This sentiment the author applies to the entire range of God's moral government, including, of course, rewards and punishments. "If revelation were silent on the subject, clear thinking would lead us to see that in the Divine nature, as everywhere else, love must have its double expression."² In accordance with this principle inferences are drawn as to the amount of punishment to be inflicted. "A second thing necessary in such a system is, that there shall be some correspondence between the rewards and the penalties of the law. If the law is of sufficient importance to justify a great reward for obedience, it will justify and require a severe penalty for disobedience."³ "Analyze the matter carefully as we may, and it will appear that there is no blessing which is not so by contrast with an opposite evil; that eternal life as the reward of obedience necessarily implies eternal death as a penalty for disobedience."⁴ In some instances the author seems to us to rely too much upon this double expression of love, but not times he applies the principle with great force. He insists with great positiveness upon the truth, that the doctrine of punishment must be consistent with that of the love of God, that "if there is a hell, love made it," and that from its nature, in a world of sin, it must make it. The sentiments of the writer on this point remind us of those uttered years ago by Dr. N. W. Taylor, in his lecture-room at Yale College. "If, then, in such a

¹P. 16.²P. 19.³P. 46.⁴P. 48.

system the moral governor does not secure the highest happiness of the obedient subject which he can secure, * * * he is not benevolent, and has no right to give law to a moral kingdom."¹ "Whatever be the reason for refusing to do it [inflict the highest possible misery on the disobedient], it is an insufficient reason. He [the moral ruler] furnishes not the shadow of evidence that he acts upon the principle of immutable rectitude of benevolence."² Dr. Vernon says: "It is objected against the doctrine of eternal punishment, that the penalty is too severe for the sins of this short life. But so far from being an argument against, it is rather in favor of the doctrine, that the penalty is so great."³

The entire doctrine of punishment is treated in the work before us as a doctrine determined by the moral system with which we are connected, not at all as determined by the arbitrary will of God. A serious business-like conduct of affairs requires a hell, which begins in this life and must continue while love and law continue. "The beginning of hell may be found in every community, yea, in every conscience, and the laws of growth are sufficiently illustrated in the progress evil makes in this world to enable us, by the light of nature, to announce hell as one of the great realities of the universe."⁴

The most rigidly argumentative part of the work before us is that in reply to the objections to eternal punishment. The reply to the doctrine of annihilation is perhaps the most complete, but that to the doctrine of probation after

¹*Moral Govt.* I. 162.

²Ditto, 165.

³P. 49.

⁴P. 285.

death is the fullest and the most carefully prepared. The author seems to us to show, upon the latter point, very clearly that there is not sufficient evidence of a future probation to justify a reliance upon it. A refutation of the doctrine to this extent ought to be sufficient for all practical purposes. He shows acutely the difficulty we should find in drawing a line between those allowed and those denied a future probation. Those who have not had a fair chance in this life are to have a chance in the future life. But who has not had a fair chance to do what God has required of him? Is it the infant? Is it the heathen? Is it the man repelled by Calvinistic preaching? Is it the man deluded, as some would say, by Arminianism? Who is the man whom God pities most?

There are many points of interest in the book, but we cannot refer to them, and speak of the work only as it belongs to a theme of absorbing interest and likely to attract increasing attention.

God's Revelation of Himself to Men,¹ by Andrews, is more closely connected with eschatology than with any other department of theology. The topic of this book is one of deepest interest, yet it is difficult to write a work upon it that will be attractive to the reader. Interpreters differ so widely as to the import of past revelations, and are so widely at variance in their understanding of the promises and predictions concerning the future, that graphic narration is impossible. No one familiar with the author's "Life of Our Lord Upon Earth," needs to be told that the work before us is candidly and carefully prepared. His thoroughness and patience in the investiga-

¹ *God's Revelations of Himself to Men as Successively Made in the Patriarchal, Jewish and Christian Dispensations and in the Messianic Kingdom.* By Samuel J. Andrews, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886.

tion of the questions involved in the former work have made it a companion of almost all our ministers. The task before him in preparing the present volume was one of much less definite outline, and the results are, of necessity, less satisfactory. Still his presentation of the progress of revelation is not without its impressiveness. If we look from the cherubim at the east of Eden to the incarnate Son of God, from the sin and curse of the first transgression to the cross of Calvary, we have no difficulty in seeing progress in the revelations which God has seen fit to make; but to fill the interspace in a way to show the steps of that progress is no easy task. The promise of a human victory over sin, the Sabbath, a system of sacrifices can all be pointed out, but just how far onward toward the consummation each one carries the divine plan is left in a good deal of obscurity. A Lord, a King, a Saviour, a Messiah, are clearly revealed as the hope of God's people, but the attempt to define His character is attended with much difficulty. He is revealed to be of the seed of David, to be a suffering Saviour, to be a servant of Jehovah, but even since the coming of Christ commentators do not agree as to the meaning of the designations given, nor wholly as to the person to whom they are to be applied. Whether the appointment of kings in the place of judges in the government of the Israelitish nation was an advance or a retrograde movement in the redemptive system, is a question not readily decided; the comparative value of priests, prophets and scribes is a topic open to discussion. Under such circumstances a work like that before us must be somewhat vague. The author seems more definite and positive in his statements concerning the future than the past. He divides time into two periods,

redemptive and post-redemptive. The latter following the close of the Messianic kingdom is to continue indefinitely. The redemption period consists of four dispensations, Patriarchal, Jewish, Christian and Messianic. The first two are past. We are now in the Christian dispensation. The Church is preaching the Word while the High Priest is in the holy of holies. Redemption is now, as in the Jewish dispensation, carried forward through election. At the close of the present era there will be a judgment, a resurrection of a portion of the dead, a return of Christ to this world, and the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. There is no kingdom till the Priest comes out of the temple and takes the office of King. His dominion will be in this world—the world, however, will be changed by great cosmical revolutions, beginning at the Holy Land. The Messianic kingdom belongs to redemptive time; at its close the final judgment will take place. Whether Christ is to remain Priest after becoming King, or whether salvation is to be without priestly intercession, are questions not answered. One is inclined to ask if the conquered subjects redeemed under the kingdom are saints of a different order from those saved by election in the previous stages of the redemptive process.

This work is deeply imbued with the Christian spirit, and has many remarks upon the worth of the body, death and the resurrection which are interesting and instructive.

V. EVOLUTION.

Although Evolution is a topic belonging primarily to natural science, theology also has an interest in it. The latter science cannot quietly and silently see herself crowded from all standing-room by this new comer. President

Porter says: "The position so often taken that the doctrine of Evolution is one which theologians should not concern themselves with, but should leave it to the scientists and philosophers to decide, is a position which cannot be maintained, so long as Evolution teaches or implies an atheistic philosophy, a materialistic psychology or a conventional ethics." There seems, however, to be just now a lull of positive speculation in this department of science, and both advocates and opponents seem rather occupied in taking an inventory of their materials than in putting them to practical use.

It seems to be admitted that the doctrine of Evolution is not proved, however much it may be entitled to general assent. It does not seem now to be accepted with such enthusiasm, as formerly, that all opposition can be silenced by the assertion that you can count on your fingers all its respectable opponents. It seems to be granted that evolutionists are not all themselves quite clear what evolution is, and that any particular view finds its most determined opponents among the advocates of other views. We may notice but a single work under this head. The work of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher on *Evolution and Religion*¹ is neither strictly theological nor strictly scientific; it is, however, a book deserving perusal, as showing the workings of a mind of great compass and energy while under the influence of two fundamental but diverse forces in the world of thought—the development-philosophy and the Christian religion. Mr. Beecher is by nature a systematic thinker, with somewhat materialistic tendencies. In his earlier life

¹ *Evolution and Religion*, by Henry Ward Beecher. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1885.

his sermons were tinged with phrenology, probably without much design, in his mature years he has cordially embraced and preached a gospel brought into accord with evolution. His aim, in the present work, is to show how the Evangelical Christian doctrines are to be affected by the scheme of philosophy which he advocates, and which he considers destined soon to prevail without a rival. A few of his theological views may be noticed.

Religion he defines as right living. He denies that it is definite and unchangeable, affirms that it is relative, conformed to the persons in whom, and to the times in which, it appears, and that it grows up from a seed.

The idea of God, according to our author, begins with a deification of natural law. With increasing knowledge men acquire better and better ideas of Deity, and this improvement is still in progress. "We are God-builders as God is our character-builder."¹ "The God of our thought—your God and my God—is the resultant of all the findings out of the human family through the intellect and the higher moral development of the race."²

Mr. Beecher does not seem to have a well-defined idea of sin. He teaches that sinfulness is universal and inevitable to undeveloped manhood; that sin is to be discriminated from infirmity; that it is the conflict between the under man and the upper man; that in sin lies the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; that sin is voluntary violation of known law. "Sinfulness is the outpouring upon society of the passions, the appetite, the selfishness, the pride, the cruelty—everything that belongs to the lower life of men."³ The author charges the old theology with

¹P. 30.

²P. 34.

³Pp. 17, 04, 104.

including infirmities in sin; but he does not, we believe, with his philosophy, cannot, discriminate between infirmity and sin.

Of inspiration he says: "The theory of plenary and verbal inspiration is a modern theory. It is a theory which carries confusion into the Bible, sets part against part, gives sanction to puerilities, brings in contradictions, makes the early and nascent experiences of the human race of equal value with the latest ripened truths, and subjects the Sacred Book to ridicule and contempt. Indeed, for the most part, the infidelity of our age springs from a theory of inspiration which has no warrant in the Bible itself, and is contrary to the known history and structure of the Book."¹ He teaches that the human race is inspired, the Bible is a record of the experiences of certain members of the race, and that inspiration is as real now as at any time. Still he speaks of the Bible as sacred and as the Word of God. The inconsistencies and weaknesses of his treatment of this topic are marked.

The regeneration consistent with evolution is the following: "It [the new birth] is simply a natural part of the unfolding series designed of God in the human constitution; an illustration of the transcendent doctrine, that when a man has unfolded through the lower and intermediate stages, however wise, however useful, however humble, however good, there is in all these things no reason why he should not rise higher, and evolve from those lower preparatory stages into the higher and spiritual stages and instincts of the human mind. Conversion is part and parcel of this grand idea of unfolding."² The author's

¹P. 61.

²P. 98.

view of other theological doctrines may be easily inferred from those above noticed. He explains, or attempts to explain, everything religious by means of evolution. In this way he essentially destroys what are known as the doctrines of grace, and abolishes the distinction between natural and revealed theology. All theology is revealed, all is natural; there are two revelations, one through physical nature, one through mind, — the Bible is a small fraction of the latter.

Mr. Beecher is not a thorough-going evolutionist. He believes in a personal God, who is fulfilling His designs in the work of creation, who conducts affairs by a development-process, but exercises a special providence and answers prayer. He, however, carries his view of evolution so far as to destroy the system of grace. He thinks he can justify the ways of God with men more easily by means of his theory than with the old theology. But we think he gains nothing and loses much. The present state of things is a definite fact, and its being the result of development does not relieve God of responsibility for it. The moral sentiment fostered by the theory seems to us far below that fostered by such a creed as that of Edwards. Notwithstanding the author's frequent protestation of his love of his fellow-men, a profound pessimism lies at the bottom of these sermons. The reader feels it continually, and it occasionally comes to the surface in a contemptuous estimate of humanity in its present state, and in the merciless sarcasm uttered against men of mediocre talent, who will yet, doubtless, be commended hereafter as having done what they could.

VI. ETHICS.

Kant's Ethics, Porter.¹ This little volume of 260 pages is one of the series of Philosophical Classics, published under the editorial supervision of Prof. G. S. Morris, of Michigan University. We do not think it will be of much service in aiding American readers to a comprehension of Kant's Ethical System. This system should have been presented in its integrity, and at the outset. The readers should have been permitted to see the structure which Kant has erected, to see it at its best, to see it as Kant himself looked upon it. Instead of this, the critic keeps the structure out of sight, but takes out a brick at a time and tells us what he thinks of it. He claims, indeed, that there is one important exception to this process, when he gives ten pages of continuous "Exposition," but even here the exposition has quite too little of Kant. President Porter, with his perfect knowledge of metaphysical language and great familiarity with Kant's thought, is just the man to do American literature a great service at this point, but he has written a book which presupposes a knowledge of the work which he criticises. He was to present to his readers the ideas of an author hard to be understood, but easily explained, as we think, by one who has mastered his system. He gives us very little aid in comprehending Kant's system as a whole.

It seems to us, Dr. Porter would have written better, on the plan of the present book, if he had taken pains to place the system he criticises before *his own mind* at its fullest and best. As it is, his discussions are repetitious,

¹*Kant's Ethics*. A Critical Exposition. By Noah Porter, President of Yale College. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Company, 1886.

and, to use a word which he applies to Kant's writings, rambling, we fear we must add, at times, careless. On page 68, in a note, he says: "It should never be forgotten that the will, as conceived by Kant, was the power to act, *i. e.*, the capacity for impulse or desire. To know, to feel and to *act*, were the three functions of man which he recognized." On page 91, he says: "What are Kant's views of the will in these applications it is not easy to determine. We ask, again and again, does he mean by the will an endowment or faculty of human nature coördinate with the reason or intellect, and possibly—why not?—with the sensibility, or does he absorb the reason into the will by making the person to be the reasonable will, and leave the sensibility unconsidered at all, regarding it as a pariah in the spiritual organism of forces and ends? The latter seems to be the view which he would take." On page 217, he says: "Kant's will, without feeling, is simply a capacity for responding to duty, and inspiring to outward action by demand of the reason, without involving the emotions." He seems to make Kant separate sensibility and moral character perhaps more widely than is warranted. He says: "But no other (action) is recognized in the Kantian analysis, the sensibility as such not being conceived as admitting of any voluntary direction or any rational *reasons* of higher or lower, and consequently of any ethical relations by being subject to the will."¹ But we find in Clark's edition of *The Metaphysics of Ethics*, the following: "Practical reason circumscribes the claims of self-love, but allows them to be plausible, as they are astir in the mind before the law itself; and limits them to the condition of being in harmony with the law, after

¹P. 68.

which self-love is equitable ; but the high thoughts of self-conceit it overthrows entirely, and declares all pretensions to self-esteem, prior to conformity with law, void and empty."¹

It is a little amusing to find that the Königsberg professor is a poet rather than a philosopher. His critic accounts for his continued influence thus: "In these extremities (when bewildered and discouraged), however urgent, his imagination never fails to find language in which to give expression to those faiths which he has the magnanimity to confess are 'the light of all our seeing,' while his glowing rhetoric lights up the thorniest maze of abstract reasoning with a radiance which extorts the wonder of the admiring reader, even when the argument, thus illuminated, fails to commend itself to his cooler judgment."²

This critique evinces abundant ability; we wish the author had been more deeply impressed with the need of instructing his readers in the elements of the Kantian ethics.

VII. NOTES UPON GERMAN THEOLOGY.

We notice in closing a few items of interest concerning theological affairs in Germany.

The writers for the *Theologischer Jahresbericht* of 1885 find very little in the productions of 1884 in Germany, in the department of systematic theology, which they treat with special attention. Bernhard Pünjer speaks with high commendation, yet with discriminating criticism, of F. H. R. Frank's *System of Ethics* — a work noticed in *Current*

¹P. 104.

²P. 182.

Discussions last year. He accepts Frank's position that Christian ethics has its basis in the new man, but says that the author's development of the topic is carried out in expressions which, strictly taken, would destroy the unity of the person. In proof he quotes the following: "The Christian is accordingly conscious of his new ego as a founding or creation of that, to stand in communion with which is his highest good, and in no way is it the same will, now evil, now good, whose self-determination is directed first to the good things of idols, now to the good of the living God."¹

R. A. Lipsius speaks with high appreciation of the new edition of Biedermann's dogmatics, and expresses his grief at the loss of his friend, who died before the publication of his work was completed. He speaks, also, with much respect of Frank's *System der Christlichen Gewissheit*, of which a new edition has recently been published. He says he cannot avoid accepting Frank's starting-point, that Christian certitude rests on Christian experience. "Whether one starts, with Frank, from the Christian life of the regenerate, or from the subjective-religious self-assurance of the justified one, or even from the believing consciousness of the redeemed church, it makes no difference on the main decisive point, that Christian certitude can at last base itself on nothing else than the Christian experience of salvation."²

Lipsius' view of the atonement, or rather his estimate of a view which he would reject, is clearly presented in a criticism upon a lecture, delivered at Berlin, in opposition to Ritschl's theology: "But this whole theory of God's

¹P. 279.

²P. 293.

anger and sacrificial suffering, of God's humiliation, folly and weakness, is gnostic phantasy. From such venturesome speculations on God's passions, His suffering and death, let us turn back to the solid ground of historical facts, the correct appreciation of which will assure to us a right estimate of the Christian faith, while we escape the bewilderments of the fantastic."¹

The *Jahresbericht* of 1886, reviewing the theological literature for 1885, like that of the preceding year, glances at a multitude of brief works, but notices no new ones of special importance in systematic theology. Lippius, the chief editor of the work since the death of Pünjer, notices the commotion produced in England and America by Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," but treats it as of very little account. He evidently considers the argumentation in that book as vapid and fanciful, and speaks with commendation of President Magoun's criticism of it. He calls attention also to the new edition of Frank's "*System der Christlichen Wahrheit*." He states the author's design to be, not an explanation of Christian truth as related to human thought and natural truth, but a presentation of the form in which it must be apprehended. "It is to him the complex of all the realities which are recognized by Christians as having reference to the establishment of a humanity of God."² The work is divided into three main parts: the Principle, the Accomplishment, the Aim of the becoming of a humanity of God. He says: "Frank is to-day unquestionably the leading dogmatist among the 'Confessionals,' as well in what relates to the form of doctrine as in what

¹P. 309.

²P. 366.

relates to its foundation." He reports that the changes in the new edition are few, and are mostly polemical, being aimed at Ritschl and his school. "The new wisdom" of that school is characterized as a newly-emerging rationalism.

It is of interest perhaps to notice that Lipsius speaks, apparently with assent, of a remark of H. Schmidt on Frank's and Dorner's view of the trinity. The former is said to be in danger of teaching tritheism, while the view of the latter does not rise above the "higher" Sabellianism.

Lipsius criticises in much the same way, though under different heads, the lectures on the evidences of Christianity by Dr. R. S. Storrs (noticed in last year's *Current Discussions*), and a treatise by Martin von Nathusius on "The Essence of Science and its Application to Religion." He betrays, as it seems to us, in his remarks on these works, the false position assumed by the German liberal thinkers in reference to religion. They do not accept at its full value man's religious nature. The basis of their criticism is that of Hume's skepticism. They demand that religious truth be accepted, not in accord with the laws of belief established in morals, but simply as a certainty based on experience. In reference to Dr. Storrs' work, he says: "It would be a mistake to suppose that this kind of apologetics lacks in useful and striking thoughts, but the entire method is antiquated, and that which one would specially prove—the objective truth of the suprarational and supernatural histories, which are in those circles identified with Christianity, does not admit of proof in the way proposed."¹ He explains, with evident disap-

¹P. 353.

proval, the position of Nathusius: "It is the peculiarity in reference to religious statements, that for their essential truths the imperfect induction of proof is completed by moral certainty, which rests on the decision of the free will. For scientific investigation in the realm of religion a personal tendency to religion is necessary; for the study of the Christian religion a living Christian experience is necessary."¹ He holds that by such processes no scientific knowledge is attained, because it rests on moral not logical certainty.

There are two topics which are now specially involved in current discussions among the Germans; the Ritschl-contest and the Lutheran-contest. The theology of Ritschl seems to be gaining ground, though it is very strenuously opposed from many quarters. Among other objections to it the very clear one, that it dispenses with all real atonement for sin, is made prominent. The contest among the Lutherans — exercising much interest in the Fatherland — is that carried on between the Lutheran synods of this country concerning the doctrine of predestination. *Dorner's Ethics*, is briefly noticed in the *Jahresbericht* but we prefer to reserve it for fuller consideration in our next number.

¹P. 337.

. PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

HOMILETICS :
THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL,

BY

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HOMILETICS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Since it has been found impracticable, within the limits of this paper, to notice properly the large number of works in this department that have appeared during the year, those have been selected for review that seemed to represent the various phases of religious thought and discussion.

CHAPTER I.

THEORETICAL HOMILETICS.

The *Hand-Book of Clerical Eloquence*,¹ by D. Heinrich Bassermann, Professor of Theology in Heidelberg, is a valuable contribution to the numerous treatises on pulpit eloquence. It is a profound and able work, in which the author discusses the whole subject of which he treats, in a scientific and thorough manner.

Acknowledging in the preface his general indebtedness to Schleiermacher, the author devotes about one hundred pages in Part I. of his Manual to the discussion of Eloquence, and then, in Part II., treats, in some fifty pages, of Worship (Kultus), especially the Christian-Protestant worship; after which he proceeds, in Part III., through four hundred and fifty pages, to treat, in a fundamental and thorough manner, of clerical eloquence — its nature, history, and theory — under which last head he discusses, in order, the material and the form — the theme, the disposition, introduction, and conclusion.

The author does not regard an independent conclusion to a sermon as theoretically necessary. To him, it seems "like putting a key-stone on the head of a statue." The more rhetorically and organically the disposition of the material has been planned, the more surely has the impression been reached. He confesses that he cannot find in the conclusion itself any reason for it; that, as a preacher,

¹ *Handbuch der Geistlichen Beredsamkeit.* Von D. Heinrich Bassermann, Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. Stuttgart, 1885.

he has found it difficult to find appropriate thoughts for the conclusion, though he has added it, in accordance with usage. Although he concedes that it might be desirable in a didactic discourse, he would, in general, have it done away with. He considers the conclusion as "an unnecessary remainder of ancient rhetoric," and admits that it might be necessary whenever the arousing of passion is sought, but thinks that this is not needed nor useful in a sermon. We scarcely need add that we cannot agree with the author in his view of the uselessness of a conclusion to a sermon, except in discourses of a very practical nature, in which each truth, as presented, is immediately applied.

Our author devotes several pages to an able advocacy of what he terms the complete appropriation (*Aneignung*) of a sermon—the making it wholly one's own—before its delivery. He would not have a preacher read his sermon. It should be a part of his own religious life, and if he read the discourse, the impression will be weakened by each glance at the manuscript.

And he is equally opposed to the extemporaneous method, so far as the language is concerned. For in such case, we gather the material, and arrange it in a plan so as to make the best impression, yet the author thinks that the most gifted preacher has not always the right word at command. But if he have prepared this expression quietly and with the necessary time, instead of finding one in a moment of agitation and under the pressure of the instant, would he not deliver a better sermon? No man, as he believes, can practice this method of extemporaneous preaching successfully, unless he have extraordinary facility and accuracy of expression. "There may," says the author, "be such men, but I have met very few of them," and he

goes so far as to add, that he regards this method as simply resulting from forgetfulness of duty.

There follows, then, the author goes on to say, the necessity of a sermon being fully premeditated and having the necessary expression in language, that is to say, an appropriation of the sermon in its contents and form — a complete appropriation that allows the preacher a free, and yet not an extemporaneous representation. The author's "ideal of pulpit appropriation is a continual and ever-recurring mental production of the discourse in all its details up to the moment of delivery, so that the delivery is only the last stage in this work of production." Where this ideal cannot be reached, he would have the preacher memorize, but in such a way as not to exclude the continuation of production. The preacher should make his sermon a part of his own being. However poor his memory, let him keep diligently at his work of appropriation, and he will reach it in the end without writing. But since it is easier, the author says, to write down a sermon, than to fix it in the mind, men are disposed to take the less arduous way.

As regards the oral delivery of a sermon, Professor Bassermann remarks that the oral presentation, as that work of the speaker through which he reaches the purpose of his whole discourse, has, in its dependence upon the material on the one hand, and upon the audience on the other, truthfulness and appropriateness as capital qualities. The speaker should show himself to his audience as fully permeated with the material on which he speaks. The dependence of the presentation upon the auditory, gives the second quality of appropriateness to the audience and the occasion. Having these two chief qualities — truth-

fulness and appropriateness — the oral delivery is at once beautiful and impressive.

In respect to corporal delivery, the author remarks, in brief, that since it is the serving companion of oral delivery, its chief qualities should also be truthfulness to the material, and appropriateness to the audience and the occasion. Nature here must be the aim of art.

We have thus noticed somewhat fully only such parts of this treatise as seem to be of the most practical value, but the whole of this able and suggestive handbook is worthy of careful reading by the younger ministry. We hope that it may appear in an English translation.

We have, under the title of *Some of the Great Preachers of Wales*,¹ an interesting and instructive volume of 550 pages, containing pretty full biographies of seven of the most noted Welsh preachers of the last century and the early part of this. These are Daniel Rowlands, Robert Roberts, Christmas Evans, John Elias, William Williams, Henry Rees, and John Jones. It was the intention of the author, when he selected these names, to add a second volume that should comprise the biographies of other scarcely less eminent Welsh preachers, — a purpose which we hope he will put into execution.

The author introduces his work with an instructive essay on "Welsh Preaching," in which, after stating that the distinguished preachers of whom he writes, were fruits of the great revival of religion which arose in Wales near the middle of the last century, he points out certain prevailing conditions in the Principality that were favorable to the attainment of great power in the pulpit by these

¹*Some of the Great Preachers of Wales*, by Owen Jones, M. A. London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1885.

preachers. "Small societies were established in different parts of the country. A system of itineracy sprang up, which, in the course of years, was developed on a large scale. All the preachers of eminence traveled over the counties, preaching every day, sometimes three times a day. Those from the South went on preaching tours to the North, and those from the North in the same manner traveled to South. * * * They preached often in the public fields, or on the streets; for the Calvinistic Methodists were very reluctant to leave the Church of England, and no chapels were built for many years. They had, therefore, the best practice; and they attained a thorough self-possession in the presence of the people. They could also repeat the same sermon many times over. In addition to this, they had the monthly meetings, or Presbyteries, the second day of which was devoted to preaching, and they had besides the Quarterly Associations, which lasted generally for three or four days, when the evenings were given to preaching, and the last day altogether. In these associations there were thousands of hearers — five, ten, and sometimes twenty thousand, and the services were held in the fields. Every preacher who went to the Association had a sermon ready for the occasion — a sermon which he had prepared carefully at home, a sermon which he had composed upon his knees, and which he would have preached many times on his way to the Association. These, we say, are just the conditions for the production of great preachers and great orators; and these conditions existed in an eminent degree in Wales."

The chief excellence of the preaching of the noted men described in this volume lay, the author says, "in the fact that they were highly gifted and adorned for the pulpit

by the Spirit of Christ." They attained their great power as preachers by constant, earnest, and often agonizing prayer, by strongest conviction of the power of the Gospel to save, and by "strong creative imagination, and great dramatic power." They had, indeed, the "Welsh Fire," but they also had what is better—"they were all aflame with the fire of God." They were, when at their best, "in a state of inspiration," which the Welsh term "hwyl," and which naturally expressed itself in the peculiar intonation that accompanied their preaching.

These marked characteristics the author describes at length in the sketches which he gives of the lives and labors of these seven noted preachers. Five of them—Daniel Rowlands, Robert Roberts, John Elias, Henry Rees, and John Jones—were "Calvanistic Methodists"; William Williams was an Independent, and Christmas Evans a Baptist. None of them had a liberal education, and most of them had very little knowledge of books. They all began to preach in early life, and attained to their great power as preachers by constant practice, mostly in the open air, before large and eager audiences, by carefully studying the great preachers of their times, and, above all, by unceasing and importunate prayer for the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in their preaching, and also by the great qualities of mind and heart above delineated. They all preached without notes, though after careful, and sometimes written preparation. Most of them, not being pastors, had ample time fully to prepare sermons, which, in their long preaching tours throughout Wales, they delivered over and over again, until they were able to preach them with marvelous effect. Doubtless the strong emotional and religious nature of the Welsh people contributed

somewhat to this result, but the chief cause was the Spirit of God, that wrought mightily through these great preachers in answer to their fervent supplications for Divine aid.

The writer of these biographies is evidently in hearty sympathy with the great preachers whom he portrays, and possibly exaggerates somewhat their power in the pulpit, yet the evidence that he presents from eye-witnesses of the remarkable effects of their preaching, goes far to confirm the substantial correctness of his description. It were to be wished that the author had so condensed his biographies—especially by omitting needless repetitions—as to have included in his volume sketches of other Welsh preachers of perhaps equal ability and power to those set forth to us. We should also have been glad, could there have been furnished to us a sermon in full, instead of fragments of sermons, from each of those preachers, though this perhaps was, in some cases, impossible.

The book, we are confident, will be read with interest and profit by those who would know more of Welsh preachers and preaching.

CHAPTER II.

PRACTICAL HOMILETICS.

DR. DAVID R. BREED, of Chicago, in a little volume entitled *Abraham: The Typical Life of Faith*,¹ sets forth in eight chapters or discourses (for such they seem to be) the prominent events in the life of that patriarch. Regarding Abraham as "the great scriptural example of that life of faith, in which alone we find acceptance with God," the author brings before us "the successive steps in his career, as illustrating the successive stages in the believer's life. Thus he treats of The True Choice; or Abraham's Migration; The Avowal of Religion; or Abraham's Altar; The Everlasting Covenant; or Abraham, the Stranger and Sojourner; The Believer's Private Life; or Abraham, the Friend of God, etc.

These themes the author sets forth with vividness and force. About them he so felicitously groups the recorded events in the life of the "Father of the Faithful," that he causes him to live and act before us.

These discourses, while not rigidly formal, have a logical and natural development of the thought, and a form appropriate to the themes which they treat. The author's style is often quite familiar, and sometimes slipshod, but generally clear, attractive, and forcible. His descriptions are graphic, and his thought often condensed into brief and suggestive expression.

We regard these discourses as, in the main, good examples of descriptive preaching.

¹Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1886.

Dr. Joseph Parker has, within the year, given to the public his third volume of *The People's Bible: Discourses Upon Holy Scripture — Leviticus, Numbers XXVI.*¹ The volume contains sixteen discourses on selected passages in Leviticus, and twenty-five on texts in Numbers. To these are added, under the head of " ' Handfuls of Purpose ' for All Gleaners," nineteen brief and very suggestive notes on particular texts. Many of the discourses are preceded by prayers, remarkable, in the main, for appropriateness and variety of matter, and for felicity of diction.

The discourses contained in this volume have, in general, the same qualities that characterized the author's expository discourses on the book of Genesis, noticed in the last volume of *Current Discussions*, to which the reader is referred. Dr. Parker has the happy faculty of seizing, here and there, on important passages of the Scripture on which he is commenting, and, in brief, vivid, Anglo-Saxon terms, setting forth the meaning, and applying it to everyday life. Although he sometimes appears to see more in a passage than there is in it, and to be now and then a little fanciful in exegesis, and extravagant in expression, yet he is, in his peculiar way, a very suggestive, instructive, and interesting expounder of Scripture, and we regard these volumes of *The People's Bible* as worthy of careful reading by a young preacher.

The volume of sermons entitled *The Simplicity that is in Christ*,² by the Rev. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, is sure to have not a few interested readers. Whatever Dr. Bacon writes for the press, does not long wait for readers, whether they assent to what he writes or not, and these discourses

¹New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886.

²New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886.

will be especially attractive, because in them he sets forth in a frank, fresh, and original manner, his views on certain religious topics, in respect to some of which he has been thought by some persons to be not altogether "sound in the faith."

The title which our author has given to this volume of thirty sermons, seems well to express his main design, namely, to set forth "the simplicity that is in Christ" (as the Authorized Version has it), and "the simplicity that is toward Christ" (as given in the Revised Version). Thus we have *The Simplicity of Repentance; The Simplicity of Faith; The Open Door of the Church; The Outside Christian; Man's Question about Christ; Christ's Question to Men*, etc.

We note with pleasure the fullness of the table of contents, in which the plan of each sermon is given with the theme.

The form of these discourses is worthy of much commendation. The introductions lead directly to their subjects, and are natural, simple, and varied. The themes are clearly set forth, though we think that it would have been better to have given more of them in the form of a proposition, either logical or rhetorical. In one or two of the sermons, the subject is gotten from the text by accommodation, as in Ser. XV., from Luke ii. 12, entitled "The Sign of the Swaddling Clothes," in which, somewhat after the manner of Dr. Bushnell's famous sermon from Luke ii. 7, "Christ Waiting to Find Room," is set forth "The swaddling clothes as a type of the limitations and hindrances by which Jesus was beset throughout His education and His life."

The plans, which are in no respect formal and stereotyped, seem to grow naturally out of the subjects, and to be as varied as the themes; and the divisions are, in the main, given in distinct and concise terms.

In the development of his themes our author is at his best. He draws no bow at a venture, and while he shoots in many directions, "one increasing purpose runs" through each sermon. He keeps constantly before him the end in view, and uses keen logic, vivid description, striking illustration, and, now and then, gentle irony, to serve his purpose. Perhaps the most prominent characteristic of these discourses is the continual progress of the thoughts and parts to the attainment of one end. The author's applications of his themes are usually very brief, but pointed and searching.

As regards the materials of these sermons, they would seem to disclose in the writer not so much wide reading, as independent thinking. Evidently the author thinks for himself, and is not greatly disturbed if his thinking brings him to conclusions different from those generally reached by others. Nor is he at all backward in setting forth such conclusions. But this he does in so frank and manly a way, that it would seem that it must well nigh disarm criticism on the part of those who differ with him. In Ser. I. on "The Simplicity of Repentance," from Acts xx. 21, "Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus," the author, in his attempt to simplify the meaning of the word translated repentance, would seem not to put into the word its entire contents. *Repent* must mean more than "simply *change your mind*," unless the word mind, as here used, is understood to include the intellect, the sensibilities, and the will — the whole man as

thinking, feeling, willing—in which case it means vastly more than what is commonly understood by the phrase—to change one's mind—which means merely to change one's opinion.

In Ser. II. on "The Simplicity of Faith," from Acts xvi. 31, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," we are told that "to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ is to trust in Him," and that this is "the true definition." But is not trusting in Christ rather a *result* of believing in Him, than the believing itself? I put my trust in a man because I believe in him.

The four "Sermons of Natural Theology" we regard as among the ablest in the volume. In the sermon entitled "A Corollary of Evolution," the preacher, taking "Evolution as a theory of the universe," and discussing its probabilities and difficulties, shows that "All forces of the universe, according to this theory, are convertible into thought, emotion and volition; and *ex hypothesi* recontrovertible." Hence he deduces the corollary, that "The original form of existence of the universe may have been the form of infinite thought, emotion and volition—wisdom, love and might: which is equivalent to saying that 'in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.' " Thus he seems cleverly to turn the tables on his opponents.

The sermon preached to a congregation of students in medicine, on "The Natural Theology of the Spleen," from Col. i. 16, "All things were created by Him and for Him," discloses in a marked manner the fine analysis, keen logic, cutting irony, and forceful expression characteristic of our author.

In the sermon on "God's Equitable Justice," from Luke

xii. 47, 48, the preacher, it would seem, cuts up root and branch, the theory of a "probation after death." His foot-note on this subject (page 271) is very keen and suggestive.

In his sermon on "Herod Penitent," from Mark vi. 20, "Herod did many things (or was much perplexed) and heard him gladly," we fear that, notwithstanding our author's condemnation of the phrase, "total depravity" (which is understood by "intelligent theologians generally," as we believe, to be a wholly "vitiated state of moral character," without reference to the degree of such vitiation), he refutes in the last part of the discourse the view of this doctrine that he seems to hold in the first.

In the "Sermon to the Woodland Church, on occasion of an invitation to be installed as pastor," Dr. Bacon sets forth with an admirable frankness that must have won the hearts of his people, his objections to installation. But we cannot quite agree with him that in favor of installation are only "some slight considerations of convenience in administration," and "the modicum of advantage which would accrue to the church from the formal and public advertisement of the newly-established pastorate."

Our limits forbid further notice in detail of these sermons. We would like to refer to the descriptive discourses in this volume, which in some respects are remarkable.

The style of our author, though not in all respects a model, is well adapted to the pulpit. It is clear, simple, vivid, forceful. He is a master in description. At times, he uses irony keener than a Damascus blade. He is evidently so intent on what he is saying, and so bent on gaining his end, that he does not think of his style. Now and then it seems a little too familiar, as in such

phrases as "doesn't it?" "doesn't he?" "wasn't it?" "wasn't he?" and the like, which occur again and again through the discourses.

We regard these as no ordinary sermons. They are packed with thought, set forth in a fresh, attractive, and often striking manner, and though we may not be able to assent to all the views they contain, we think that they will amply repay careful reading.

Divine Sovereignty, and Other Sermons,¹ is the title of a volume of twenty discourses recently given to the public by Reuben Thomas, minister of Harvard Church, Brookline, Mass. In the preface the author states that his "method of sermonizing, being a mixture of the prepared and extemporaneous, is of all methods least fitted to do itself credit in print." This remark, as we suppose, has reference rather to the style of the discourses, than to the plans and materials, though in these respects they seem, here and there, somewhat open to criticism. They are on such themes as Divine Sovereignty, Man's Sinfulness and Inability, Atonement and Expiation, The Divine Helper, The Witnessing Church, Retribution, The Child and His Dues, A More Excellent Way, The Limitations of Evil, and Predestination.

The subjects, in general, come legitimately from their texts, though in some cases they cover more ground (Ser. XIII.), in others less (Ser. XVIII.), than the text. They are not always stated with sufficient distinctness and brevity, but are, in most cases, introduced in a graceful and interesting manner.

The main divisions of the theme are often hard to find. Indeed, so far as the form is concerned, one of the chief

¹Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., 1885.

defects of several of these sermons is the absence of a clearly-defined plan.

In the development of his subjects, the author is suggestive rather than logical. Instead of arguing, he modestly sets forth his own opinions without dogmatism, and discusses them in a discursive, suggestive, and illustrative manner. The application of the thought is mostly very brief, and often very forcible.

The exegesis of two or three of the texts seems not wholly satisfactory. In Ser. XIII., "The Limitations of Evil," from the text, Luke xii. 4, "But I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do," Satan is set forth as the being most to be feared. In Ser. XVI., on "The Divine Responsibility," from Isaiah, xliii. 1, in dwelling on the thought that God "holds Himself *responsible* for the creation and its consequences," the author says, "In Redemption our God comes to us and shares our responsibility for sin." "As though God should say, the responsibility for sin is not all yours; some of it is Mine" (p. 232). We cannot think that, in any just sense of the term, God can be said to be responsible for man's sin. In Ser. XVII., on "Predestination," from Ephesians, i. 11, "Predestinated according to the purpose of Him who worketh all things after the council of His own will," we are told that "when St. Paul speaks of our being predestinated or fore-ordained, he is speaking about this nature of ours, and what it was made for" (p. 240); that "You and I and all men were predestinated to be, according to that type and order" (Jesus Christ), (p. 242); and that "predestination speaks of the end which God had in making man, of the type that the Creator intended, and of the

unchangeable purpose that He has to produce that type — that type, the perfection and consummation of which we have in Jesus the Christ ” (p. 243). But is this the “ fore-ordination ” of which the Apostle writes in the remarkable chapter from which the text is taken, the whole trend of which is toward Christians alone?

The style of our author is, in the main, clear, direct, terse, and forcible. Infrequently we meet with such unusual words as “ doable,” “ dependableness,” “ can-tankerousness.” Often we find such terse expressions as “ The Church has something more to do than to take care of itself ” (p. 173); “ Missionary it must be or die ” (p. 174); “ Each heart throws off its own atmosphere, as each flower its own perfume ” (p. 194); “ As the sunlight enters into every flower that blooms and every fruit that ripens, so Christ’s life enters into every soul that breathes the prayer, “ God be merciful to me a sinner ’ ” (p. 203).

Although these discourses seem unequal in merit, often deficient in plan, and now and then somewhat at variance with commonly received tenets, yet we regard them as worthy of careful reading for their fresh thought and terse and forcible expression.

Expositions,¹ (Second Series), by the Rev. Samuel Cox, D.D., the well-known author of several commentaries, is a volume composed of thirty-three expository discourses, given to the press because of the hearty welcome from the public which the first volume received.

“ It is,” says the author, “ composed of expository discourses, in which I have tried to throw what light I could on obscure, out-of-the-way, or difficult Scriptures.”

Of these thirty-three “ Expositions,” we regard as

¹New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1886.

among the most able, interesting and instructive, the eight discourses on The Gospel to the Greeks, The Transfer of the Religious Unit, The Wine-skin in the Smoke, All Things are Thy Servants, Baruch's Book, The Son of Man Sings.

But throughout all these expository sermons, the author gives abundant indications of ripe Biblical scholarship, keen perception, and fine analytical ability, united with marked candor and manliness. They are remarkably fresh and interesting in both matter and manner, and show that expository sermons may be made attractive as well as instructive.

The author manifests great versatility in the plans of these sermons; his introductions are appropriate and brief, and his applications of the truth tender and searching. He is master of the Anglo-Saxon, and puts what he has to say, into clear, simple, and forcible terms. He has a fine imagination, by which he often robes the truth in beautiful vestments.

It would of course be expected that the well-known views of the author as an advocate of the doctrine of "Eternal Hope," would appear here and there in these discourses, yet they are always set forth with manly frankness. Although we cannot agree with the author in some of the views expressed in this volume of expository sermons, yet we regard it as a valuable contribution to the literature of the pulpit.

The *Expository Sermons and Outlines on the Old Testament*,¹—one of the series of books forming "The Clerical Library"—is a volume containing thirty-six expository discourses, chiefly on distinguished characters

¹ New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1886.

in the Old Testament. In the "Prefatory Note," we are told that "the following expositions are all gathered from fugitive or unpublished sources." The names of fifteen authors of these sermons are given, all able preachers, and representing several denominations, though largely the Established Church of England. The sermons are mostly given in full, a better form, as we think, than in brief, for the purpose for which the volume is intended. We regard it as far better that the young preacher and the student in homiletics study a sermon in full than in fragments. If he make his own analysis of it, he will more clearly perceive and more fully appreciate its elements of power, than if the analysis were made for him.

The sermons of Canon Liddon on Balaam, and on The Failure of Elijah's Faith; the sermon of Archdeacon Farrar on David; that of Dr. Maclaren on Trust and Waiting; of Prof. Davidson on Elijah's Flight; of Dr. Joseph Parker on The King Conquered; and the five discourses of Dr. Bradley, Dean of Westminster, on the Book of Job, we regard as among the best in the volume. The sermons, as a whole, are of good quality, and are well-selected, and the volume is a valuable addition to "The Clerical Library."

*The Anglican Pulpit of To-Day*¹ is a volume of nearly five hundred closely-printed pages, containing "Forty Short Biographies and Forty Sermons of Distinguished Preachers of the Church of England." The editor (whose name is not given) tells us in the Preface that "This volume is intended to furnish a fair reflex of the preaching of the Church of England at the present time. It has been the aim of the editor to do justice to all schools of

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1886.

thought. This aim he seems faithfully to have carried out, for he has given to us sermons from eminent preachers, representing the various schools of doctrine in the Established Church. The sermons, we are told, have not, in most cases, appeared previously in book form. The editor evidently has made a good selection of authors, though, as he says, "Some very distinguished preachers are missing, for the reason that the writers did not wish their sermons to appear in a mixed collection."

The authors of seventeen of these forty sermons are bishops, of four are deans, while the writers of the remaining nineteen discourses are also eminent clergymen and professors. As a whole, they form a galaxy of distinguished men, of whom the Church of England may well be proud.

The biographies are, in general, very brief, often condensed into a few lines, and rarely extending beyond a single page. They are comprehensive, and seem to be impartial.

In respect to the form of these sermons, it may be said that, in the main, their plans and divisions are not made prominent. Rarely do they have numerical divisions, and in some cases the discourse takes well-nigh the form of an essay. We cannot but think that if some of these sermons had more clearly-defined plans, they would have more power.

In regard to the material of these discourses, it can be said that, in general, they are packed with fresh and pertinent thought. Their writers appear fully aware of the great moral and spiritual needs of the age, and firm in the belief that the Gospel alone can supply these needs. This thought is well set forth by Bishop How in his ser-

mon on "Salvation of Hope" ("Saved by Hope"—Romans viii. 24), in which, after pointing out that "One of the most terrible features in the life of many thousands of our poor in London, and in other great cities, is its hopelessness," he goes on to show that we must "go forth in the name of God to tell these poor souls of another and a better hope. They are slaves, in bondage to their various sins, and we carry a Gospel in our hands." "We proclaim a Gospel of Freedom, a Gospel of Hope." The Bishop thinks that "the Church is alive, and working and winning, and that the people recognize its work, and respect its zeal and activity." Says Bishop Fraser: "This age wants, and is prepared to receive, not the priest, but the prophet—not the man who claims to stand between them and God and say: 'No access to the Heavenly Father but by me,' but the man who can teach them the truth, and help them in their blindness and waywardness and ignorance to discern the way of peace and righteousness. For men do feel their ignorance, and are thankful for light, and are not indisposed to truth, and never was there a larger or a more fruitful opportunity for the preacher who is in earnest, who believes what he preaches, and will speak to men intelligently, reasonably, and sympathetically, than now."

These sermons also furnish abundant evidence that the pulpit of the Church of England is keeping itself abreast of the thinking and questioning of the ablest minds of our time, and is addressing itself to the solution of the religious problems confronting it.

Our limits forbid a notice in detail of each of these forty sermons. We would only add that we regard the discourses of Archbishops Benson and Thompson; of Bishops

Lightfoot, Woodford, Fraser, Ryle, Ellicott, Magee, Carpenter, How, and Reichel; of Deans Perowne and Farrar; of Canon Westcott; of Drs. Salmon, Hatch, and Brooks, as among the ablest in the volume. As regards the sermon of Dr. Phillips Brooks (perhaps the ablest in the book), we can hardly see the propriety of including this production of the most eminent preacher in the metropolis of New England in a volume entitled "The Anglican Pulpit of To-Day." In the discourse of Prof. Evans on "The Preaching to the Spirits in Prison," (I. Peter iii. 18-20), we notice that the learned author not only "concludes that, according to St. Peter, our Lord in the world of spirits, between His own crucifixion and resurrection, announced 'glad tidings of great joy,'" but also goes so far as to think that, from this interpretation of the text, the inference may be drawn that "some or many of His (Christ's) living members, as they have disappeared one by one behind the veil, have also, in their turn, and after His example, preached the same Gospel *there*" (p. 445).

This volume is worth careful reading by those who would be well informed as to the "preaching of the Church of England at the present time," as represented by her ablest divines and pulpit orators of the various schools of thought.

The Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, Pastor of the Madison Square Church, New York, has added both to his usefulness and to his reputation by giving to the press his volume entitled *The Pattern in the Mount and Other Sermons*.¹ The seventeen discourses of which the book is composed are on themes like the following: Human Spirit and Divine Inspection; Coming to the Truth; Walking by

¹New York: A. D. F. Randolph and Company, 1885.

Faith; Walking in the Spirit; Methodical Piety; Piety and Business Compatible; Light the Outcome of Life.

These sermons have striking characteristics. In matter they are remarkably fresh and original. The author is wholly himself in all that he says, and in his manner of saying it. His treatment of his subject is kaleidoscopic. He presents not so much arguments as pictures, or rather he presents arguments in pictures. Frequently illustration follows illustration almost as closely as pictures crowd each other in a gallery of paintings. And they are for the most part quite original and apposite. He uses metaphors rather than similes, and often condenses into a line what many preachers would expand into a page. He is well-nigh as epigrammatic as Emerson. His style is to a marked degree aphoristic. We are constantly meeting with such expressions as "Emptiness is full of Satan"; "Young aimlessness is the Seminary of old iniquity"; "A cord gives out no music except when it is strained"; "Conscience is individualized Sinai"; "The pride of ignorance is like the stopper in an empty bottle, which renders the interior vacuum inaccessible." Often our author gives great vividness to his thoughts by felicitous epithets. Now and then he seems a little careless in expression or quotation as, "We have got to deal gently with people here" (p. 45); "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread" (p. 100).

The course of the thought in these sermons is not, as it seems to us, made sufficiently distinct. The plans are in general not made prominent enough to give an ordinary hearer easy possession of the thread of the discourse. This we regard as the chief defect in the form of these

sermons. But they are remarkable for fresh and original thought and expression.

The volume entitled *The Welsh Pulpit of To-day*,¹ comprises twenty-seven sermons selected and, in most cases, translated into English by the Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones.

"With two or three exceptions," says the editor, "these sermons were composed and delivered in the Welsh language to purely Welsh-speaking congregations, without any ulterior view to publication. They may, therefore, be taken as a trustworthy index of the real calibre of the vernacular ministry." These twenty-seven discourses from twenty-six Welsh preachers, are, as the editor thinks, "a fair average specimen of the religious teaching administered in the vernacular all the year round." We scarcely need say to those acquainted with the Welsh pulpit, that these sermons will compare favorably with an equal number of discourses of "a fair average specimen" taken from the English or American pulpit.

They have, in general, these marked characteristics. They are pervaded with Scripture, and often reveal in their authors a deep insight into its meaning. They have, with a single exception, great distinctness of plan. All but six of the sermons in this volume have textual plans, and these are, for the most part, skillfully made. They abound in illustrations. They are filled with the language of emotion. They are eminently practical, and apply the truth in a searching but tender manner.

We are glad to learn that it is the editor's "purpose, in a subsequent volume, to analyze the more spiritual elements that constitute the strength of the Welsh Pulpit."

¹ *The Welsh Pulpit of To-day. Sermons by Welsh Ministers. First Series.* Edited by the Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones. London: 1885.

The Great Question and other Sermons,¹ by William Alexander, D.D., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, were evidently written by a man of deep convictions, decided opinions, and frank expression. A strong churchman and advocate of the Establishment, he is yet catholic in spirit, and appreciative of Christian life and character in whatever ecclesiastical connection.

The fifteen sermons included in the volume are grouped under the four following heads: Sermons bearing on the Evidences of Christianity; Christian Life; Characters; The Church in Idea and Fact. Under these heads are discussed, among other subjects: The Mystery of Sickness, The Self-Assertion of Christ; The True Life Worth Living; Samson: Sensuality; Creed, Worship, and Work.

The author's plans are, in the main, good, and the divisions are distinct, though not expressed with sufficient brevity. His exegesis discloses his ripe knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and often makes a text luminous, though we cannot always agree with him in his interpretations of a passage, as, for example, in the text, Matt. xxiv. 28, "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together," that the word "carcase" means "the corpse of Jesus Christ as crucified," and that "as the eaglets gather round the corpse, so the souls of men, and especially of the elect, gather round Jesus" (p. 270).

These sermons impress us with their frequent originality of thought and of expression. They closely hold the attention of the reader, and while he may be often compelled to dissent from the author's views, he cannot but be pleased with his frank utterance and liberal spirit.

¹ New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1886.

The *Sermons and Addresses Delivered in America*,¹ by Archdeacon Farrar in his late visit, were, as they came from the press, eagerly welcomed by his numerous friends among us.

The volume comprises fourteen sermons, four addresses, and two lectures, making in all a book of nearly four hundred pages. The sermons, arranged in the order in which they were delivered, are upon themes such as the following: Christ's *Lesson from the Lilies and the Sparrows*; Awakement; Not a Sectarian Christ; The Lion in the Heart; The Retribution upon Selfish Societies; The Beatitude of Men's Reviling; The Lost Sheep; The Lost Coin; Things Which Cannot Be Shaken; and Ideals of Nations.

These subjects the author treats rather in a rhetorical and literary way, than by theological and systematic methods. He is very discursive in the treatment of a theme, and brings forth from his great wealth of learning abundant illustrations with which to make it luminous. The breadth of his reading and knowledge, especially in ancient classic literature, disclosed in these sermons, is remarkable.

The thought, though not, in the main, original or striking, is set forth with well-nigh wonderful affluence of pertinent illustration drawn from every quarter.

The style also, though somewhat diffuse, charms us by its freshness and grace.

But these discourses could hardly be called homiletical models in respect to form. Their themes are rarely stated with clearness and brevity, and they are often developed

¹ *Sermons and Addresses Delivered in America*. By Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster; with an Introduction by Phillips Brooks, D.D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1886.

by means of divisions so diffusely expressed that it is difficult to remember them. This want of clear and concise statement both of the themes and of the main heads, we regard as one of the chief defects in these sermons.

As regards their matter, we fear that the author's repugnance to a rigid Calvinism may have led him unawares almost to travesty some of its doctrines. As "the preacher of Eternal Hope," we think that not a few of the readers of this volume will take issue with its learned and eloquent author on the little he has said in it on this topic.

But with his genial and large hearted catholicity of spirit, and his constant insistence on that as the only true Christianity, which shows itself in a life full of love and good works, we are sure that all who read these delightful pages will be in hearty accord.

The volume of *Sermons on the Christian Life*,¹ by John DeWitt, D.D., Professor in Lane Theological Seminary, is worthy of the reputation of its author as an able and faithful preacher of the Gospel. It comprises twenty-seven discourses "written and preached when the author was a pastor," and they are "on various aspects and elements of human life treated in their relations to Christianity." As they were prepared, the author tells us, "not for publication, but for delivery before the writer's congregation, their style and language often approach those of familiar conversation." "The form of the sermon," he adds, "is determined by the relations of the preacher to his audience, quite as much as it is by his theme." Hence we find in these discourses no elaborate composition or philosophizing, but a simple, direct, and

¹New York: Scribner's Sons, 1885.

forceful presentation of the themes discussed. They are introduced in an appropriate, varied, and attractive manner, and stated, generally, in the form of a rhetorical proposition, with clearness and brevity. The reader is not left in doubt either as to the subject or as to its method of treatment, for the main divisions are, in general, distinctly and tersely expressed.

In seven of the discourses the division is textual, and in some cases excellent. Now and then, the division seems imperfect. In Sermon I., on "*the dangers arising from sudden and disappointing transitions in life; and our only safety when character is menaced by them,*" the first head is stated thus: "That you may see how practical our subject is, I ask you to notice, first, *that such transition is a frequent human experience,*" a thought which should properly appear in the introduction. In Sermon XII., on "The Cost of Discipleship," the first head treats of the nature of discipleship, the second of the fact that "the self-denial of the Gospel is no arbitrary imposition," and the third of "the elements of the cost of Christian discipleship." It would seem better to state the subject as Christian Discipleship — its Nature and Cost, and, reducing the division to two heads, to treat first of the nature of Christian discipleship, and then of its cost.

Our author's conclusions are, in many cases, models of brevity, and of faithful and tender appreciation of the truth. Perhaps with too much uniformity he applies each truth first to those of his hearers who are Christians, and then to those of them who are not.

His style, though at times familiar and conversational, is quite free from faults, clear, direct, and often forcible. A more frequent use of illustrations would, as we think,

have rendered these excellent discourses still more impressive.

The volume of *Sermons on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1886*,¹ (Eleventh Series), by "The Monday Club," is a valuable contribution to Sunday-school literature. The club comprises twenty well-known ministers, four of whom contribute four sermons each, eight, three discourses each, and the remaining eight, one sermon each. These sermons, though differing considerably in merit, are, in the main, worthy of their authors. Taking the central thoughts of the lessons, they set them forth in a clear, instructive, and impressive manner. A careful reading of them cannot but be of much service, not only to Sunday-school teachers and scholars, but also, in general, to the Christian public.

The volume of *Sermons Preached in the First Church, Boston*,² by Rufus Ellis, D.D., late minister of the Church, would, as we imagine, have included a somewhat different selection of sermons, had the discourses been selected and prepared for publication by Dr. Ellis himself. Some of these sermons could hardly be termed more than brief moral essays on passages of Scripture. Of these thirty-six sermons, all but eight "were found to have no titles," and we think that not a few of the titles supplied are not such as the author would have given. Indeed, one of the chief objections to these sermons, so far as their form is concerned, is that they are so largely without homiletic form. Rarely is a theme clearly stated, or developed under distinct heads. Generally, a text is treated in an informal and discursive manner, in some

¹Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1886.

²Boston: Cupples, Upham and Company, 1885.

cases so much so that it is difficult to keep in mind the course of thought.

The author's style is pure and elevated, and though not forcible or brilliant, is fresh and attractive.

The materials of these sermons do not indicate wide reading. They are largely drawn from the preacher's reflections and observations. He rarely reasons, uses few illustrations, and can hardly be said to rise into eloquent thought and expression. But evidently he is thoroughly in earnest, fully persuaded of the truth of what he utters, is Christlike in spirit, and a firm believer in good works as essential to Christian character. While a consistent and conservative Unitarian, he is not sectarian, and throughout these discourses manifests a tender, fraternal spirit toward all who are trying to do the work of the Master. While we cannot agree with the author in many of the sentiments expressed in these sermons, for example, that, in the parable of the rich man and the beggar, there is any ground for believing that "it may teach of possible recoveries and restorations"; and in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, that "the Saviour is describing two kinds of goodness, even of religious goodness, the mind and heart in which men live before God and come into His presence in the act of prayer"; yet we appreciate these sermons for the good qualities named.

*New Tabernacle Sermons*¹ is the title of a recent volume of thirty-two discourses by T. DeWitt Talmage, D.D. Some of these are on unusual themes, as Brawn and Muscle; The Pleiades and Orion; The Queen's Visit; The Lord's Razor; The Road to the City; The Banished

¹New York: E. B. Treat, 1886.

Queen; Despotism of the Needle, and The Congratulations of Heaven."

These sermons strikingly exhibit the author's characteristics as a preacher. They set forth evangelical truths in an orderly, vivid, picturesque, and at times almost grotesque manner. The preacher rarely reasons or deals in abstractions. He throws his materials into concrete forms, and abounds in illustrations, some of which must be trying to a refined taste. In his dread of being tame, he sometimes becomes almost turgid. He is epigrammatic, often extravagant, and at times fanciful. But through all, he is wholly himself—an earnest, courageous, faithful preacher of the Gospel.

We regard this volume of discourses as superior to the *Collection of 104 Sermons* of the author, reviewed in the last volume of *Current Discussions in Theology*, to which we refer our readers for a fuller delineation of his characteristics as a preacher.

Sermons in Songs,¹ is the title of a volume of twenty-seven discourses recently given to the press by Chas. S. Robinson, D.D., pastor of the Memorial Church, New York. "The title of this volume," says the author, "was suggested by the fact that the texts were chosen from the 'Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs' of the Old Testament and the New." As "The sermons were prepared along the course of the author's ministrations during a period of years," they are of a very practical nature.

The themes are somewhat unusual, as The King's Daughter; The Prince's Bride; The Bride's Presents; The 'Magnificat' of Mary; The Sermon on the Cross; The 'Gloria in Excelsis'; The 'Nunc Dimittis' of Simeon,

¹New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885.

and The Eucharist Hymn. These subjects the author introduces in an appropriate, interesting, and often picturesque manner, but his exegesis sometimes appears a little doubtful (Sers. VI., XVIII.).

His plans are good, some of them admirable, and the divisions are clearly and briefly set forth. At times perhaps the analysis is a little too minute or fanciful, yet often quite original.

In the development of his themes the author reveals not so much great learning as abundant good sense. He uses, often with great effect, pertinent illustrations largely drawn from history and observation. A quiet, genial humor here and there shows itself, giving zest to the discussion. The author's well-known love of music and song is manifest throughout these discourses. They are indeed "Sermons in Songs."

The conclusions are brief, forcible, and at times quite original.

The thought is set forth in a clear, natural, forcible, and often vivid manner.

These sermons are well worth reading.

The volume of *Twenty-four Sermons*,¹ by the late Henry W. Bellows, D.D., is, on many accounts, one of rare interest. The eminence of the author both as a scholar and a preacher, his high position in the Unitarian denomination, and his well-known conservatism and candor, give to these utterances of his in the pulpit, which for more than two score years he filled with great acceptance to his church, more than usual importance.

¹*Twenty-four Sermons*, preached in All Souls Church, New York, 1865-1881. By Henry W. Bellows, D.D. Minister of the First Congregational Church, 1839-1882. Selected and edited by his son, Russell N. Bellows. New York: Published by the Editor, 1886.

These sermons cover a wide range of subjects, as, for example: Salvation: The Modern Meaning of the Term; Spiritual Spring-Tide; The Holy Spirit: What is it, and Whence comes it; Self-Renunciation: the Rest of Jesus; Hereditary Faith and Piety; Jacob's Wrestle with God; Unworthy Conceptions of God; Jesus Christ: His Nature and Claims; The Distinctive Mission of Unitarian Christianity.

These discourses are quite informal in structure, and are more in the form of an essay than of a sermon. Only in a few of them is there a clearly-defined plan, and in but two of them is there any numerical divisions. The style is clear, pure, elevated, and attractive, and the illustrations, are, for the most part, felicitous. Indeed the style and illustrations, together with the fresh and vigorous thought, contribute not a little to give a peculiar charm to these sermons.

But to many of the author's opinions expressed in these sermons, we could hardly hope to assent; as, for example, that "Paul, no doubt, had notions of Christ's mission and work which are untenable" (p. 7); that "We know no heaven and hell such as they" (the Apostles) "believed in" (p. 8); that "We find and we acknowledge no finality in the Scriptures, no finality in the word or person of Jesus" (p. 357). We cannot but think that our author, usually so candid, has, in his opposition to evangelical doctrines, labored throughout these sermons to pull down the exaggerated statements of them which he unconsciously has set up.

But though it were easy to find on almost every page of this volume, views from which we must dissent, yet we are in full sympathy with the author in his thorough

loyalty to Christ, his large-hearted benevolence, and his insistence on Christian living as the proof of Christian character.

This volume of Sermons should be read by those who would know what "Modern Unitarianism" is in its most conservative form, and best expression.

The discourses entitled *The Heavenly Vision and Other Sermons*,¹ by Rev. Henry M. Booth, D.D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Englewood, N. J., while without marked characteristics of excellence, would seem worthily to represent the evangelical pulpit of to-day. The seventeen sermons of the volume are on such themes as The Divine Estimate of Man; The Moral Ends of Business; Conceptions of God, as Expressed by the Sanctuary; Distress without Despair; Jesus of Nazareth — His Place in History.

We regard the last eight sermons of the book, in which the endeavor is made "to exhibit the perfect adaptation of the Lord Jesus Christ to man's spiritual necessities," as the best in the volume.

The author's plans of his sermons are simple, and the divisions are, in the main, distinct. It would seem to be a favorite method of the author to make the conclusion of one head the premise of the following head, and so on throughout the discourse (Sers. I., V., XV., XVI.). His applications of the truth are pointed and tender. He uses comparatively few, but pertinent, illustrations. His style is clear and often forcible, though at times he seems not sufficiently careful in the selection of words. For example, he seems partial to the word "secure," and often uses it where another word would be more appropriate, as "let

¹New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1885.

us aim to secure 'the stature of the fullness of Christ' " (p. 62).

These sermons, though not remarkable for originality of thought, or fascination of style, present the truths of the Gospel in a clear, faithful, tender, and interesting manner.

A little work entitled *Soundings*,¹ by the late Rev. Mortimer Blake, D.D., consists of fifteen sermons selected by his daughter, and receives its appellation from the somewhat original themes and methods of treatment. We have such subjects as, Christian Light-houses; Meaning of Solomon's Song; Origin of Salvation; Inner Strength of Christianity; Existing Antagonisms Approved of God; The Dream of Pilate's Wife; Weak Kinglings, and Night Service. These are discussed in a remarkably fresh and interesting manner, and though we may not assent to all of the author's conclusions, yet we are impressed with the abounding good sense, the nice discrimination, the earnest Christian spirit, and the practical aim disclosed throughout these discourses.

In several of the sermons, the themes seem well chosen from accommodated texts, and are developed with much originality and force. The author's style, though at times a little careless, is, in the main, clear, simple, and forcible. The illustrations are often very pertinent, and the delineations graphic. The Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society has done good service to the Christian public in giving to it this volume.

¹*Soundings*, by Rev. Mortimer Blake, D.D.; edited by his daughter, Mrs. Evelyn L. Morse. With prefatory note by Rev. Jacob Ide. Boston: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, 1886.



PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

RECENT STUDIES IN
PASTORAL THEOLOGY,

BY

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PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

Discussions in this department during the past year are to be found chiefly in our periodical literature. Different phases of the entire parochial work have been treated, when emerging, from one reason or another, to special prominence.

ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH.

A discussion by Dr. Washington Gladden, in the New York *Independent* deals with the theatric spirit, so to call it, in which our congregations, and too often our church-members, attend the Sabbath service. That is to say, they expect, like those going to an entertainment, rather to be drawn from without themselves than impelled from within. The pastor is put into the pulpit to be not a light, but a magnet. The people are the dead particles that he is to draw. That *they* are to show any responsible, spontaneous interest in the service, as a worship of God whom they seek to honor, is an idea that, in Dr. Horace Bushnell's phrase, has not yet arrived. Of an obligation to attend on a rainy day, or in the evening, there is small recognition. The thought of carrying spiritual warmth to the church, seems rarely to occur. It is enough to present themselves that the fire may be kindled by the preacher. The mischiefs that issue from all this folly are deplorable. The preacher is burdened with a task that ought not to be laid on his shoulders. He is put under a sore temptation to leave the simplicity of the Gospel for something that will "draw." He is so chilled by the unsympathetic atmosphere

around him, especially at the evening service, that his breath almost freezes as it leaves his lips. But on the people the effect is still worse. They are confirmed in the irreverence, not to say impiety, which counts the presence of God in the sanctuary and the occasion of worshipping Him, no attraction whatever. They are pampered into the morbid appetite that can relish no strong meat for the soul, but only rhetorical tarts and creams. They come to a chronic captious mood that would get no benefit from the preaching of Gabriel himself.

It is too common for a pastor, while deploring all this, to ask in the same breath, "What can I do in regard to it?" Certainly nothing if he goes on the assumption that the congregation come only to hear him, and that it is his function to inveigle them there by his charms of speech. Starting from that fatal concession, he is debarred by his own modesty from any remonstrance against this neglect of worship. But let him found the whole matter on a different basis. Let him bring the mingled authority and love of God to bear on the question. Let him press the conscience of his people, meanwhile doing the best pulpit-work of which he is capable, and he need feel no embarrassment.

THE ORDER OF SERVICE.

Rev. E. Hungerford discussed in *The New Englander* for April, 1886, the possibilities of worship in non-liturgic churches. That there has been an advance upon the bareness of the Sabbath service among the fathers, a drift toward the enrichment of it by new features and larger variety, is evident. Some have superficially mistaken this for a bias toward a liturgy. It is only that, with an eclectic

spirit, anything that seems attractive and profitable has been adopted. The remainder is declined, not because there is an inclination toward it, but because there is not. An imperative demand of our churches in regard to any feature of their worship is, we believe, that it shall be intelligible. Mr. Hungerford holds that musical tones may more profoundly move the feelings of some worshipers than devout words those of others. Possibly. But whether this is a devotional or an aesthetic movement may be an open question. And even if the former, the number moved is relatively too small to deserve consideration in arranging an order of service. An emotional fervor is, no doubt, important in worship. But it should be a fervor aroused through an intelligent apprehension of truths and sentiments first presented to the mind.

It is pleaded in behalf of a liturgic service that the words become, by constant repetition, so familiar as to be easily apprehended. So, it is claimed, the intellect being relieved of effort, the heart is left free to act. But precisely that we believe to be the fatal objection. Mind and heart must work together. That which slips through the mind with a parrot-like recitation takes no deep hold on the heart. We come to repeat it as we do the process of breathing, half unconsciously.

And to this objection to set forms of prayer should be added, that the addresses to the throne of grace in our churches should vary with the varying events and conditions of life in the congregation. So, too, with the round of the Christian year. Readers in middle life and beyond it will remember the embarrassment in the liturgical churches at the death of Mr. Lincoln. He received the fatal shot on Good Friday. The following Sunday, being Easter, called

for flowers and rejoicing, when the whole nation was in tears for its martyred president.

But, though we need no liturgy, there is always room for improvement in our order of service. The Sunday schools have, as to this matter, acted as pioneers. The variety brought in by more frequent singing, by responsive reading, by explanation of Scripture from the Superintendent's desk, and so on, has aided progress in this direction in the main congregation.

But one object to be held steadily in view should be fuller exposition of Scripture. Neither expository preaching nor the instruction which the children receive in the Sunday school can meet this want. The Bible should, at every service if possible, be read twice — once responsively as a devotional service, and once for exposition. There should be copies of the Bible in every pew. These can now be had on easy terms. And if, after the good Scotch fashion, the congregation would open the Scriptures and follow the minister from verse to verse, as he briefly expounded, it would rapidly increase among the people a knowledge of Holy Writ.

THE SABBATH EVENING SERVICE.

Through our religious journals and otherwise there has been no little discussion of the oft-recurring question, How to succeed with the Sabbath evening service. It is, of course, easy to solve the question, as so many a church has already done, by either abandoning that service altogether, or substituting for it a quiet vesper prayer-meeting, attended by a score or two of the most faithful of the church members. But, with our steady drift toward a

European Sunday that ends at noon, leaving the afternoon and evening for recreation or something worse, our pastors, let us hope, are not ready at present to content themselves with that.

A united service for several congregations has been another resort for one of the four or five Sabbath evenings in the month, while missionary and Sunday-school concerts occupy two others. Preachers of signally magnetic power have, of course, no embarrassment as to the matter. What is wanted is a method of so conducting the service that a preacher not gifted with such power may secure a large attendance.

The pastor of an Eastern church, after much reflection, adopted a course which, through a trial of several years, has proved successful. He resolved to devote, as is so often done, the morning service mainly to the instruction and edification of the church proper, and the evening to the aggressive work of reaching the world without. A first aim with him, in the latter service, has been to draw the street idlers into the house. The next has been to offer them something spiritually quickening, and, if possible, to win them to the new life in Christ. During the evening a large and well-trained choir renders, in solo, quartette and chorus, various sacred melodies. In this way a considerable class of persons of musical taste are interested and held. For another class the simple and stirring Gospel hymns are freely used. In singing these the whole congregation is invited to unite. This part of the service continues, with ten minutes of Scripture reading and exposition, two minutes in prayer, and time for notices and the evening offering, about three-quarters of an hour. In the sermon that follows the pastor dispenses

with both manuscript and desk. He rarely speaks more than thirty minutes. He aims at a familiar, practical style of address, freely illustrated, and made as direct and impressive as possible. A short prayer, hymn and benediction conclude the service. The audience meanwhile has been invited to remain for a brief after-meeting. From fifty to two hundred accept the invitation. This meeting continues from about 9 to 9:15 p. m. It is occupied with prayer, testimony, exhortation, and an invitation to any who desire to enter upon the Christian life to indicate it by rising. One or more every week give evidence of conversion. The audience, after the adoption of this method, increased from about 200 to 700 or 800. Cards are distributed through the pews, and strangers who are willing to identify themselves with the congregation are invited to give their names and addresses. The steady success of this plan for a series of years shows such success to be possible without extraordinary powers of the pastor in the pulpit.

HISTORY OF HYMNS.

A subject neglected till within recent years, but now claiming increased attention, is the history of the hymns used in our worship. Several volumes in this department of Christian literature have already appeared.¹ In their way and measure they have served a valuable purpose.

¹ *The Story of the Hymn.* By Hezekiah Butterworth. Published by The American Tract Society.

Evenings with the Sacred Poets. A Series of Quiet Talks about the Singers and their Songs. By Frederic Saunders. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1870.

Hymn Writers and their Hymns. By Rev. S. W. Christophers: Randolph.

Historical Sketches of Hymns; their Writers and their Influence. Rev. Jos. Belcher, D.D. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1859.

Each has contributed something to the common stock of material. But no one of them, not all together, have gleaned the field. They have depended too largely on previously-published material.

But a volume has at last appeared, more ample and more nearly exhaustive of the sources of information than any preceding.¹ Dr. Duffield has laid the Church universal under obligation by the painstaking thoroughness with which he has accomplished his work. One is half tempted to wish that, at some points, he had contented himself with gliding over the surface of tradition and story. For many a romantic tale here dissolves into a myth, many a touching incident becomes the absurdest of anachronisms. But the consolation for these losses of our favorite fictions is that what remains is authentic. The pastor need no longer fear that, after moving his people with a pathetic account of the origin of a hymn, he will be mortified, at the close of the service, by some prying investigator informing him that his author had gone to his reward a half century before the incident occurred. And not only so. But a mass of material, as immense in quantity as pure in quality, remains after this sifting. For the streams from which the author draws flow from almost numberless new sources. The volume far exceeds in bulk any one or any two of its predecessors. "*Huc undique gaza*" might be, without assumption, its motto. The amount of illustrative matter regarding the origin of hymns, the anecdotes of stirring or affecting scenes in which they have played their part, the instances in which they have awakened the godless or comforted believers, are spread in exhaustless pro-

¹*English Hymns—Their Authors and History.* By Samuel Willoughby Duffield, author of *The Latin Hymn Writers and their Hymns, etc.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886.

fusion on these pages. By correspondence with living authors, by recovery of manuscripts of the dead, by far-reaching, laborious research in ancient lore, the author has made his book an ample and rich thesaurus. The complaint of one reviewer that he confines himself too exclusively to the "*Laudes Domini*" of Dr. C. S. Robinson, is ill-grounded. About 1,750 hymns are discussed by Dr. Duffield — about all, probably, of the origin of which, or of the lives of the authors of which, anything of moment is known.

We commend this volume as fit to mark, in some measure, a new step of progress in the "Service of Song in the House of the Lord." Whatever throws into our worship fresh elements of interest and profit, every efficient pastor will welcome. The history of hymns is a feature of the service thus far almost unknown or ignored. A judicious use of it would infuse a new life and meaning into many a sacred lyric which may have lost, from familiarity, something of its power. The narrative, given when announcing the hymn to the congregation, of the spiritual refreshing that has flowed through it to some believer, in the stress and strain of a great crisis, to some dying soldier on the battlefield, to some widow in her want, to some departing saint as he rose heavenward, would help them to sing it with throbbing hearts and possibly tearful eyes. We earnestly commend to pastors a reinforcement like this to the variety, the interest and the spiritual profit of the services they conduct.

PURITY OF THE MINISTRY.

The last National Council of Congregational Churches, at Chicago, took action, as will be remembered, to provide safeguards against unworthy intruders into the min-

istry. We will enter no further into that matter than to say that no ecclesiastical laws, no rules for the construction of our Year Book, no methods of induction into the sacred office, will effectually protect the churches from such adventurers. They must protect themselves. The country is too vast, facilities for escaping from one section of it to another and the resumption of clerical functions under an alias, are too numerous to allow of protection from impostors by published minutes or membership in any ecclesiastical body. If a church committee will admit to the pulpit, without thorough inquiry into his credentials and record, any stranger who applies, then the church will suffer imposture. There is no remedy. The peril lies in the delusion that a preacher's service in the pulpit, his power to interest an audience, is the most important function devolving upon him. Every adventurer, knowing this, has a few sermons, perhaps stolen and certainly far above his average, with which, before his character becomes known, to captivate the audience. This seems to be one of the divinely ordered retributions for this theatric spirit in attending church as mere spectators and not as worshipers. When churches learn that a pastor's work outside the pulpit, as a shepherd of souls, is quite as important as a rhetorical display in the sanctuary, when they look for Christian character before gifts and talents, then only will they be secure from these wolves in sheep's clothing.

WINNING ADULTS TO CHRIST.

Dr. E. F. Williams, of Chicago, has raised in *The Advance*, a remonstrance against the neglect of adults in the efforts of our pastors to win children to Christ. There is ground for that remonstrance. In the word-painting of

our Sunday school evangelists and others who set forth the children as the hopeful class, a dark background for contrast is made of the hardened and hopeless adults. We are in danger of falling, as to them, into a chronic despair. Small credit it would be to our faith to sag away into the concession that it is capable of moving only the children. But, beyond question, the work of reaching full-grown *men*, especially, will demand a faith in the Holy Spirit's power exceptionally strong, and great persistency of consecrated will. We have in mind a New England pastor, signally possessed of these qualities, who for years was in the habit of selecting some man of mature life in his congregation as one to be drawn to Christ. Beginning with earnest prayer in his behalf, he followed him up indefatigably. He made the impression upon him by his whole spirit and manner, though in an inoffensive way, that no other thought than that of his submission to Christ was to be entertained. And so he drew, one after another, a large company of ripe, strong men from the world into the Church.

WINNING CHILDREN TO CHRIST.

But while the conversion of adults must be steadily held in view, the children still remain preëminently the hopeful class. Our churches have hardly more than begun to awake to the importance of this matter. Since Dr. Horace Bushnell's well-known and admirable article in *The New Englander*, in 1844, on *Growth, not Conquest, the True Method of Christian Progress*, and his later work on *Christian Nurture*, there has been more or less recognition, dim or clear, of the children as, under God, our main hope. Until the thought of them as such

becomes more deeply wrought into the inmost conviction of the churches, and more thoroughly pervasive of their whole policy, we are likely to see them drag and falter in advancing to the possession of the earth.

We reviewed last year in these *Discussions* an excellent little practical treatise by Rev. Dr. A. T. Chesebrough, "*Children Trained for Discipleship*." He has since expanded that treatise into a moderate volume with the title "*Culture of Child Piety*." We devote to it a degree of attention proportioned rather to the importance of the subject-matter than to the size of the book.

The author, laying stress on the oft-quoted words of Jesus in regard to the children, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," asserts that the kingdom especially and emphatically belongs to them. The children of the Church, as he holds, are the native-born subjects of this kingdom, while those converted in adult years are only naturalized foreigners. He subscribes to Neander's sentiment that the new birth, in the children, was not designed to constitute a new crisis, a *conversion*, as of an adult, beginning at some definable moment; but it was to begin imperceptibly and so to continue through the whole life. To the objection that the churches of the apostolic age were the fruits of revivals in which adults were, almost exclusively, the subjects of grace, he replies with an analogy. Our first parents seem to have been created full-grown. But it would hardly follow that their descendants were to enter the world in like fashion. The necessity of the case, both in Eden and at Pentecost, required exceptional methods.

A quaint deliverance of the New England Synod of 1662 is aptly cited: "The Lord hath not set up churches only that a few old Christians may keep one another warm

while they live, and then carry away the church with them when they die. No, but that they might, with all care, * * * nurse still successively another generation of subjects to our Lord that may stand up in His kingdom when they are gone."

The author urges that a child trained for Christ "grows up radically different from what he would have been if left under the control of a vitiated nature received by inheritance." * * * In addressing adults on personal religion, "full two-thirds of our appeals must take apologetic form, in answering excuses, parrying objections, combating the reasonings of the secret skeptic in the soul." But the first yearning of a child, next after the gratification of its bodily appetites, is for some being to love. If it could be brought up like chickens in an incubator, it would be but a miserable starveling."

The author fully recognizes the obstacles, with the present parentage and surroundings, to the culture of child-piety. Bad influences from outside our Christian homes, Sunday-schools and churches, deteriorated blood, and too often inbred vicious propensities within the homes themselves, overcloud the prospect of complete success. But he holds that if the success of the church is ever to be on a scale that promises the dominion of the globe, it must be by either child-nurture or some other method for which we have no warrant to hope. And it is easy to see that the motto, "Nothing succeeds like success," would have signal application here. For children growing and strengthening from their very infancy in Christian character, would transmit fewer and fewer evil propensities to their descendants, from generation to generation, and

more and more of such native instincts as incline to righteousness.

The first charge of our Lord to Peter, after his recovery, was "Feed my lambs." But we have reversed the order. The main care in the training of candidates for the ministry has been to fit them for winning adults. The main aim of our evangelists has been to take their hearers through such a process of conviction and conversion as is inappropriate to a little child. All treatment which would produce an abrupt, convulsive experience in the mind of a child the author holds as unintelligent and harmful. Attempts to force by sheer authority the free-will of one coming forward into youth he deprecates as well. Even the soul of a child can defy all *authority*, human and divine. It is perilous to drive it into an attitude of open resistance. Children of Christian families turning out haters of religion are often sad illustrations of this. Love, as exhibited in the story of the redemption, is the true power with which to bring the soul into willing subjection. It is *natural*, in the divine order of things, that a child who has begun to honor the earthly father and do right, should bow to the Heavenly Father when He comes clearly into recognition. As young Samuel, nursed in piety, and without question God's own child, came out in one eventful night into open vision of Him. For up to the hour when God called him, "Samuel did not yet know the Lord, neither was the Word of the Lord yet revealed to him."

In their unfolding experience children are not to be judged by any standard appropriate to adults. Hilarity that verges on frivolity is no such indication of worldliness in them as in those of riper years. God made them to

play as really as He made the sun to shine. There is often an uncharitable severity in judging them.

Child-piety, instead of being volatile and transient as many imagine, is more enduring than that of their seniors. Says Rev. C. H. Spurgeon: "Among those I have had, at any time, to exclude from the church, out of a membership of twenty-seven hundred I have never had to exclude one who was received while yet a child." Says Rev. C. F. Thwing: "The secret of the wonderful growth of the largest Presbyterian church but one in the State of New York has been, that the children have early been brought into the church and have proved its bulwark of strength." Such testimonies might be indefinitely multiplied.

But the work of training children for Christ must not be left to second-rate or hap-hazard agencies. They need something more than the stimulus of young people's prayer-meetings and juvenile Christian societies. They need solid instruction as to the nature of the Christian life, such as the pastor alone is, in general, able to afford them. The instruction should be Biblical, not speculative. Redemption through Christ should be taught, as our author holds, but no theory of atonement, whether governmental, commercial or moral. The doctrines of Scripture are means to Christian life and character, not ends. They should be used as, and so far as, they can be made to conduce to these ends.

The true method of presenting saving truth to children is not the Socratic or inquisitorial. Under rough handling the child's soul, like a sensitive flower, will close at once. There is no access to it in that fashion. Instead of asking, "What are your views and feelings as to sin?" one should

inquire, "Can you commit yourself to the Lord Jesus Christ as your Saviour?" Let examples of high Christian character be given, with parables and other illustrations. Learn of the child's real spiritual state rather from your own inferences, after free, confidential conversation, than from direct probing by question and answer.

But all this, and like matter, the author brings in as preliminary to his direct design. He proposes a class for the instruction and training of children, to be conducted by the pastor. This class should be gathered, perhaps, by an invitation from the pulpit, to such as are willing to join it. The autumn, shortly after the close of the pastor's vacation, is the most favorable time. The class should contain no larger a number than the conductor of it can nurture and train for Christ with special attention to each. The expectation should be that each child will enter on the Christian life and publicly profess faith before the ensuing summer. After the first meeting no spectators should be present. The children enrolled should be regular and constant in their attendance.

According to the author, somewhere between the ages of seven and ten occurs a transition from the merely impressional period to that of completed conscious personality. The child begins now to realize his full personal ownership and responsibility. Here, then, before this consummation has been reached, is *the pastor's golden opportunity*. Beyond this the child passes, if neglected, into a far less hopeful stage of his life. He retires within himself, and is with difficulty drawn out to any confidential self-disclosure. He begins to fear the criticism of his playmates. He grows impatient of restraint, and is far less easily guided. The pastor is treated respectfully. He is

esteemed as a friend. But he finds barriers rising to any closer approach. The iron is cooling in the mold. The time for ready renovation has gone by.

But before this period, the heart is open. Its welcome is free. Its confidence is easily won. No skeptical doubts or preconceived repugnances hold the soul back from the Master. Pride has not yet awoke. No crisis is to be met and dreaded and surmounted. By the subduing love of Christ the young heart may be won to a glad submission to Him.

Various points of counsel as to details in the management of such a class can be noted only cursorily here. The place of meeting should be not in the church building, but in the attractive and cheerful parlor of some private house. The announcement is, in general, perhaps, best made from the pulpit. This relieves the pastor from any charge of partiality in making up the class. But if it is likely to bring in troublesome and undesirable members, the invitation may be privately given. The order of the meeting should include hymns, responsive reading, prayer and careful and thorough Biblical instruction. The Lord Jesus should be set forth in His winning love, and the children at every meeting strongly and tenderly drawn to Him. An indispensable matter is the securing of perfect confidence and freedom between the pastor and the members of the class. The writer values lightly the public testimonies sometimes almost exacted from children as an evidence of their sincerity.

Having led them to Christ, he would not inform them that, in his judgment, they are renewed souls. He would rather find for them Christian work adapted to their years,

ground them well in the great truths of Scripture, and in due time open the way for them into the church.

Such a method as this has been successfully pursued by Dr. Chesebrough and others for a series of years. We have dwelt upon it at length as believing it to be of immeasurable importance. Our churches are making, at present, no such progress as they ought to make toward the evangelization of the country. If that grand end is to be attained, it must be, to all appearance, by the use of new and more adequate means. The churches are Christ's chief instrumentality. If they are to be brought to the maximum of their efficiency, they must be amply increased in size and in thoroughness of consecration. For this purpose we have hitherto relied chiefly on occasional revivals. We have sought for no steady and reliable course of accessions to the churches. Pastors have fallen out of the Divine plan of Christian nurture from childhood up, or have left to parents that which belongs equally to themselves. Whoever will return to this plan, with the blessing of God, may hope for a living and unfailing stream of young disciples, free from stereotyped evil habits, doubts and prejudices that often disfigure those of riper years, flowing into the bosom of the church.

FOREIGN PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

It is quite significant that little is said in the English, and still less in the Continental, literature of this department on organizing the people for work. Poimenics, the care of souls, the oversight of the flock, as if the people were sheep in a somewhat literal sense, is the chief burden of discourse. The idea of the pastor as a general, who is to organize the church as an aggressive force against the

kingdom of evil, and then rely mainly on it as such to win the victory, seems to be just looming above the Eastern horizon. The reason is obvious. The main body of the people in Europe are behind the average of our countrymen in intelligence, wealth and personal efficiency. They are largely in their pupilage. While the Young Men's Christian Associations have increased, though by no means as rapidly as with us, the Societies for Christian Endeavor, with other young people's organizations in the local churches, and especially the women's associations for missions at home and abroad, and the children's bands for like objects, have hardly made their appearance. It is the Christian women of the higher and wealthier classes who have, thus far, mainly engaged in organized work for Christ.

The temptation in the way of pastors to partiality toward the titled and the rich is occasionally brought to the surface. As, for example, in the lectures to his clergy by Archbishop Morris,¹ the complaint is raised that the clergy ignore a poor parishioner who chances to call on them simultaneously with one of greater prominence. The general tone of his address presupposes a deplorably low tone of Christian manhood on the part of his hearers and readers.

Issues from the German press in this department are much occupied with matters that have, with the American congregation, but few points of contact. Thus Prof. Pilman, of Marburg,² occupies his entire work with Con-

¹*Lectures on Pastoral Theology, with Special Reference to the Promises Required of Candidates*, by the Ven. L. P. Morris, D.D., Archbishop of Bristol.

²*Die Lehre vom geistlichen Amt*, von A. F. C. Pilman, ordentlichen Professor der Theologie and Consistorialrath, zu Marburg.

fession, discussing the advantage of it to the penitent; with Absolution, dwelling on the right, propriety and issues of the act; with Excommunication, unfolded at wearisome length; the distinction between the "Greater" and the "Lesser," and with Reconciliation after offenses. The assumption of the author, that church discipline carries weight in deterring from unfaithfulness, would hardly hold good among us in America. Whatever may be the cause, it is certain that this function of the church is very generally slipping into disuse. Were our larger churches seriously to take up every occasion for discipline, prosecuting it to a conclusion, it is doubtful whether they would find time for much else. Among the fathers of New England, discipline was maintained as it never could be in our day. The sternness of the times inclined them to unsparing visitations. Punishments by the civil power were far more numerous and severe than at present. The church, with the value of a good standing in it, loomed up far higher than it does, with innumerable other institutions around it, in our time. Pastors and office-holders were regarded with a reverence, at times an awe, that are now bygone. On the other hand, the succession and pressure of exciting events at present distract attention from the personal character and sins of individuals. It is to be hoped that discipline will never, while occasion for it remains, be suffered to fall wholly into neglect in our churches. But it is unlikely to retain the prominence and social effects of former times.

A treatise¹ by Prof. Kübel of Herborn also illustrates the narrow conception of Pastoral Theology held in the

¹ *Umriss der Pastoral Theologie*, von Rob. Kübel, Prof. der Theologie zu Herborn.

German parish. The whole scope of it seems, according to him, to be confined to the personal care of the pastor. The immense and diversified work into which the membership of our American churches have entered, for all classes of the needy and ignorant, has hardly occurred to his thought.¹ The flock he regards as in a state of pupilage, to be nursed and watched with incessant care. We do not underrate the work done by the laity in Europe. The Inner Missions, the Unionsvereine, the Sunday schools, the evangelistic brotherhoods and sisterhoods, the foreign missionary enterprises and other departments of noble Christian service and philanthropy, are all matter for congratulation and thanksgiving. But the fact remains that a more extensive, intelligent and effective work is done by the lay membership of the American churches. It is the natural result of democratic institutions in both Church and State, developing the self-recognition and the sense of responsibility in the individual.

The writer regrets that the pressure of various duties forbids a thorough review of various other interesting features of this department, which have come up for discussion during the present year.

¹His definition of his general subject is as follows: "*Pastoral Theology*" is the doctrine of the care of souls, that is of the description of that general activity of the minister, in which as a shepherd he furnishes to the single members of his parish, divine nourishment, in order to guard them well from danger of spiritual destruction, and to assist in leading them along the journey of the Christian life."

THE END.

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